POST-WAR OKINAWA

by

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[title page]

PREFACE

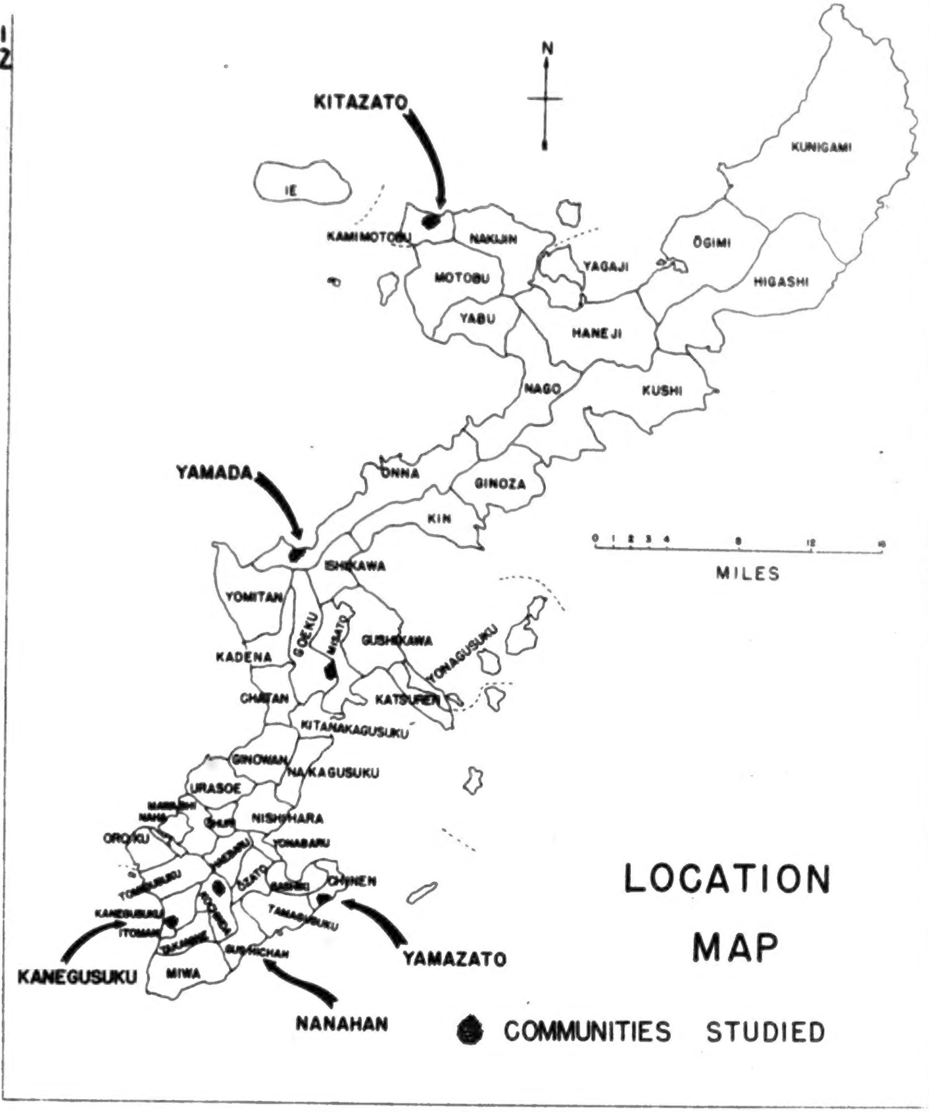
114 122 This report is based on nine months of field research which was conducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 101 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954. One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.


N
KITAZATO
IE
KAMIMOTOBU
NAKIJIN
MOTOBU
YABU
YAGAJI
HANEJI
KUNIGAMI
ŌGIMI
HIGASHI
NAGO
KUSHI
ONNA
GINOZA
KIN
YAMADA
ISHIKAWA
YOMITAN
GOEKU
MISATO
GUSHIKAWA
YONAGUSUKU
KADENA
CHATAN
KATSUREN
KITANAKAGUSUKU
GINOWAN
NAKAGUSUKU
URASOE
MAWASHI
NAHA
SHURI
NISHIHARA
OROKU
YONABARU
TOMIGUSUKU
OZATO
SASHIKI
CHINEN
KANEGUSUKU
ITOMAN
TAKAMINE
KOCHINDA
TAMAGUSUKU
GUSHICHAN
MIWA
KANEGUSUKU
NANAHAN
YAMAZATO
0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
LOCATION
MAP
● COMMUNITIES STUDIED

Map 1

[facing p. ii]

We wish to express here our indebtedness to the Pacific Science Board for providing us the opportunity and necessary support to conduct this research. Particular acknowledgement is also due those members of the USCAR staff whose cooperation and logistic support greatly facilitated our work. Lastly, the authors owe their deepest gratitude to the hundreds of Okinawans who by their patience, kindness, and interest in our work contributed so much to its fulfillment.

The conclusions and interpretations derived from this research are those of the authors and do not represent those of any other individuals, groups, or organizations.

F. R. Pitts
W. P. Lebra
W. P. Suttles

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CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as
241 one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped
valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages
hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise
[137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense
growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time
[132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete
with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is
available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal
fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in
[134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of
[132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever
243 possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm
[242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

---

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's *tōgwā*, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (76.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; *Panicum miliceum*). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

---

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from *Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku* and *Okinawa guntō no tembō*. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

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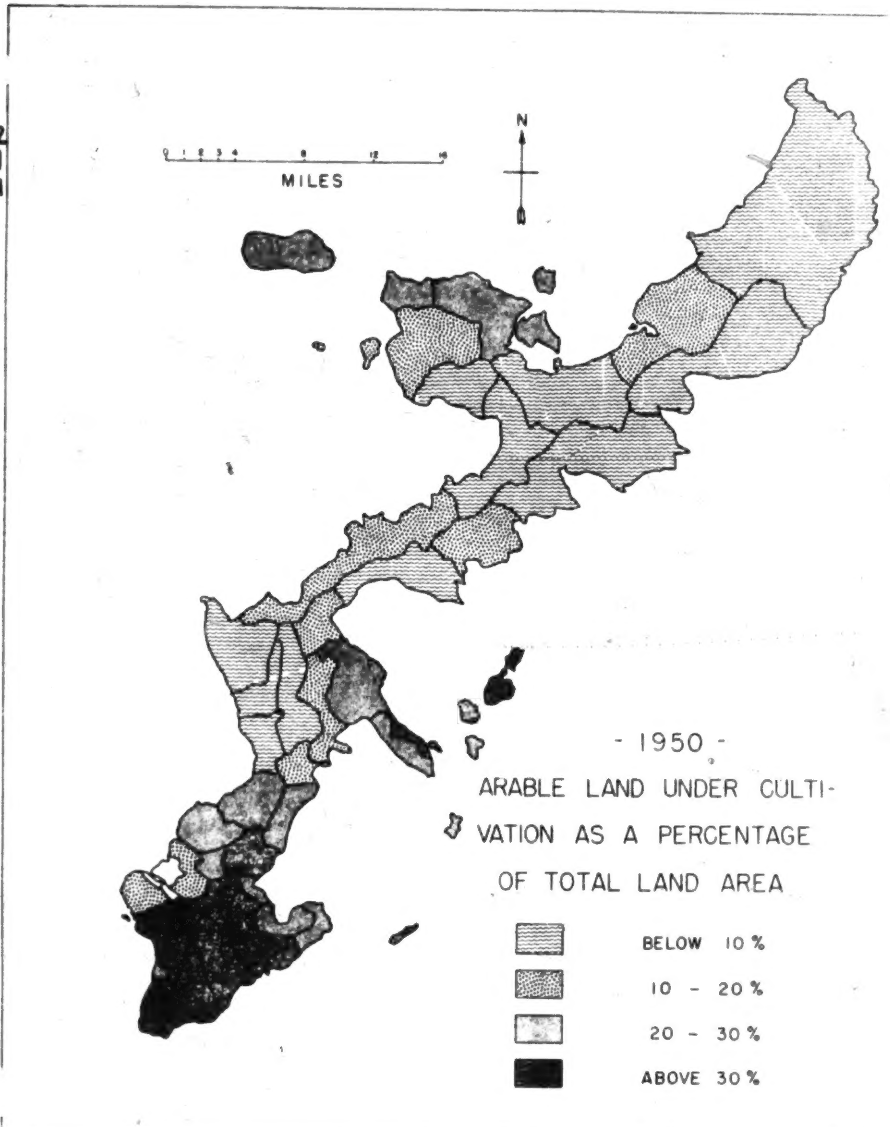
241

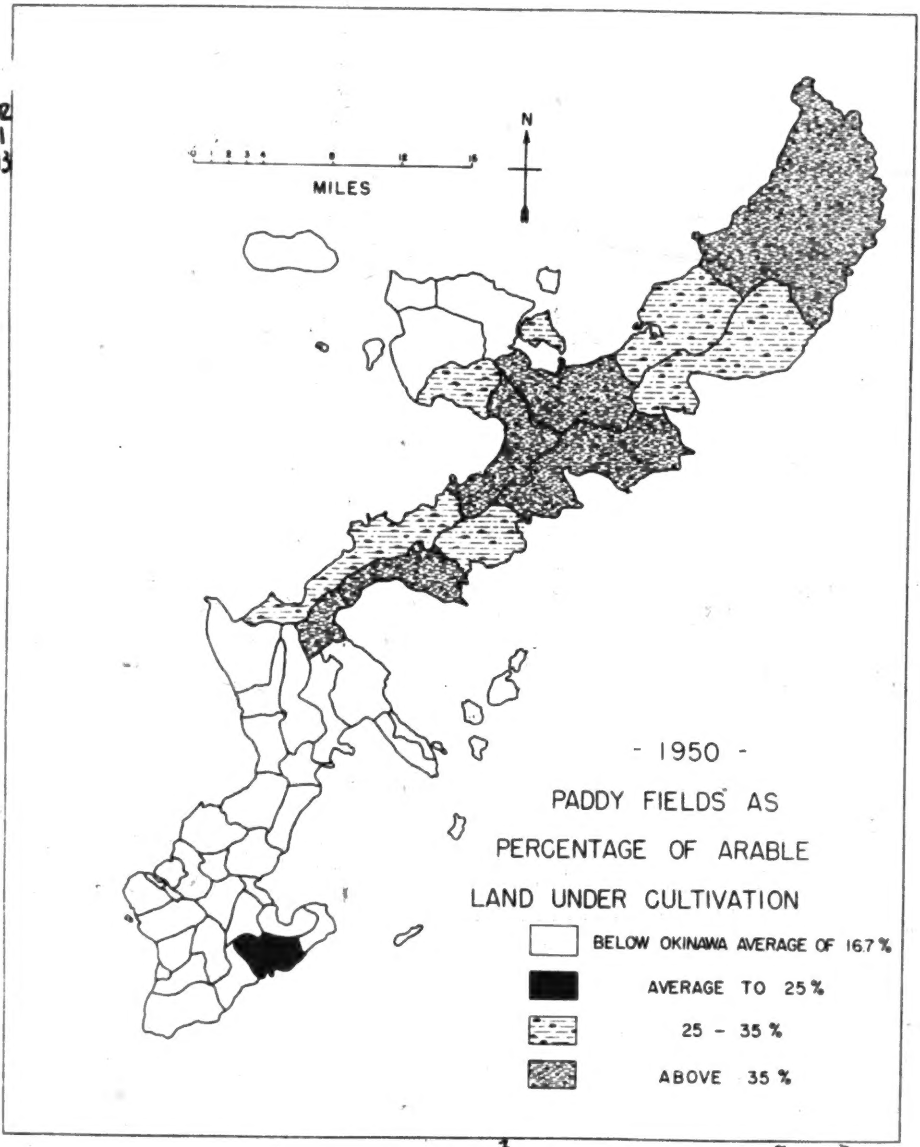

0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
N
- 1950 -
ARABLE LAND UNDER CULTIVATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LAND AREA
BELOW 10 %
10 - 20 %
20 - 30 %
ABOVE 30 %

Map 2[1A]

[P 2-A)

[1A] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

102
311
243


0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
N
- 1950 -
PADDY FIELDS AS PERCENTAGE OF ARABLE LAND UNDER CULTIVATION
BELOW OKINAWA AVERAGE OF 16.7 %
AVERAGE TO 25 %
25 - 35 %
ABOVE 35 %

Map 3[1]

[P. 2-B]

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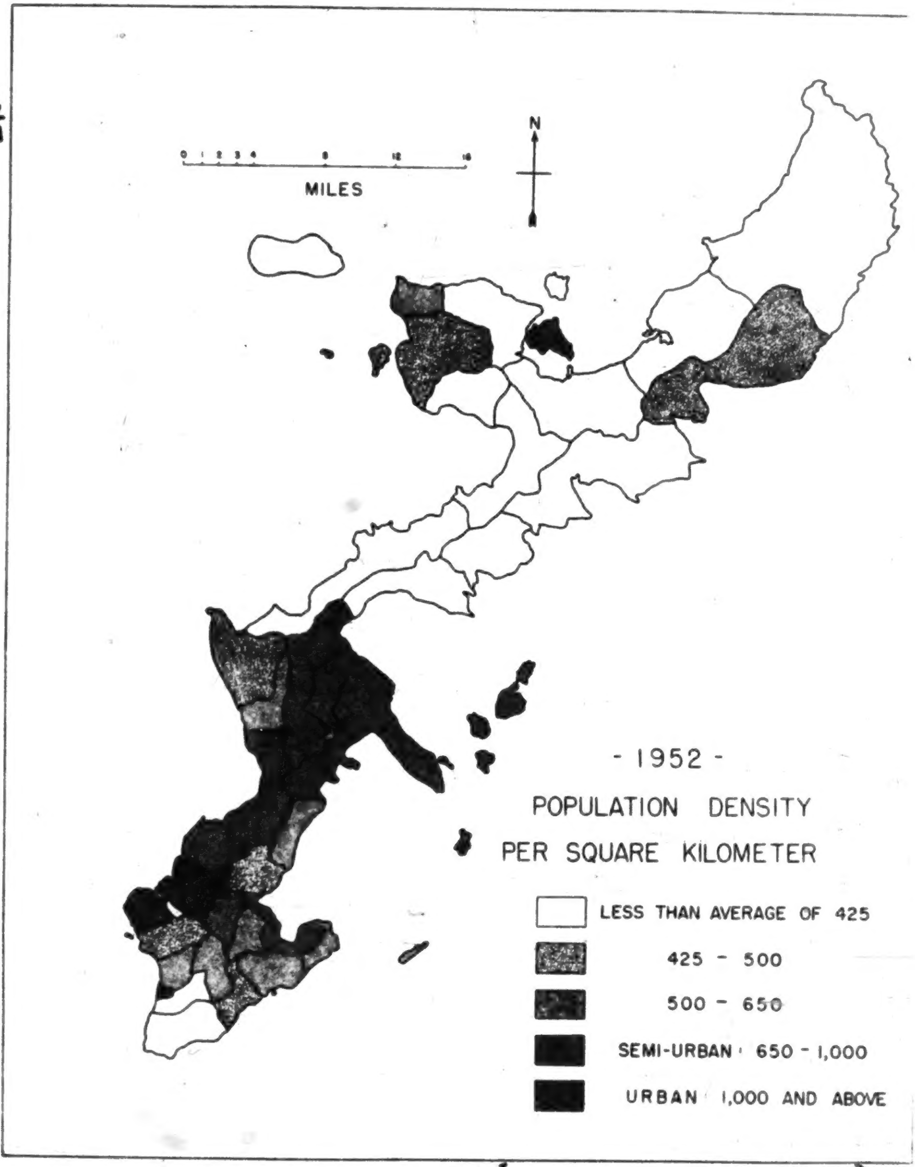
[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]


0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
N
- 1952 -
POPULATION DENSITY
PER SQUARE KILOMETER
LESS THAN AVERAGE OF 425
425 - 500
500 - 650
SEMI-URBAN 650 - 1,000
URBAN 1,000 AND ABOVE

Map 4[1]

[P.2-C]

---

[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly
heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful
behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of
the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-
tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in
quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and
Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west.
Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension
of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried
by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[282] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's
total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some
weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed"
('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 177 Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] [191] On the contrary, however, this language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

---

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured
me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though
most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands,
contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of
which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state
that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity
of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished
five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include
nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2]
These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621]
and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as
Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans.
Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554]
island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest
prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177]
dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy
influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this
they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese.
Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their
city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648]
with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177]
capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural
center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545]
that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the
Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented.
Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554]
of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226]
due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other
Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely
derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by
farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though
less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a
dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361]
physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of
dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197
in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105
little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566]
village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565]
the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621]
sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (*munchu*) and
several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated
kin groups more nearly equal in size. A *munchu* was made up of a number

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[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

105 A *munchu* was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage
[582] practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These customs
[178] were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegusuku
[582] revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes
evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called *yaadui* settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries
by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding
communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the *nuru* priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements
to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it preserves
[194] a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between
them centers on the *p* and *h* sounds in the two dialects, for all *p* sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered *h* in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is *pi*
in the dialect of the former and *hi* in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect
of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation
services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed
of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "*Uchinaaguchi*" Okinawans call their dialect *uchinaaguchi* and themselves
[601] *uchinaanchu*. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hŏgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual.
Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has
resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there
is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a
few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-
five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately
seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat
misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married
women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily
lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a num-
ber of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater
freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for
the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Oki-
nawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese
on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this
preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Ja-
panese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in
this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person
does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a
strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree
of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers ob-
tained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articu- [871]
late in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within
the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan.
Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the
effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, [166]
soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread
of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in
their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones
Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in
Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections
of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand
the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit un-
friendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used.
Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-
educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas
Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okinawans
533 liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are
known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually
191 all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous
178 religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
791 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
776 priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui
(sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably
178 linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations
of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated
191 a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
648 Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination
to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara
as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative
until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming
177 a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

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[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student 191
to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position 177
without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became 554
the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those 191
in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It 177
would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the stu-
dents with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools 871
throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the 191
administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far 177
more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening
to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of [871]
three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

211 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[591] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
[114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use through-
191 out the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
177 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
178 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an overstatement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

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CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 621 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the postwar and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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[1] Navy Handbook, p. 240.

[2] CAARI, p. 156.

[3] Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being 175
converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A 241
more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades 178
follows. 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes [262]
were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to con- [177]
vert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption.

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimĕ and mĕdakōja) of the nine- 175
teenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher- 241
yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield 433
of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per 243
plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average four- 178
teen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date.

178
Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to 175
fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice- 241
cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." [252]
Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned.

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[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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175 Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower
244 out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine
years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties.
[177] Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily;
they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of
[231] the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'matsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. *Okinawa #100* gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of *White #100* before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the *tumaikurū* variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." *Yaeyamaakagu* was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is *Kiirumugwā*. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

178
175 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture
241 is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below
433 presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments	
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.	
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.	
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.	
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.	
Dryland taro	--	20		
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.	
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.	
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.	
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.	
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.	
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.	
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.	
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.	
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.	
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.	
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.	
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use.	[251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones.	[231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use.	[251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.	
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache.	[157]

178
175 Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By
241 early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the
439 necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffec-
263 tive protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made
252 of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans,
kidney beans, and various other legumes.

175 As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:
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> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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[1] Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

[2] Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

[3] Ryukyu...., p. 13.

[4] The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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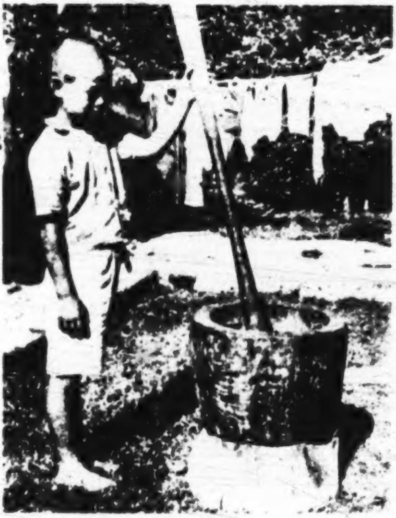
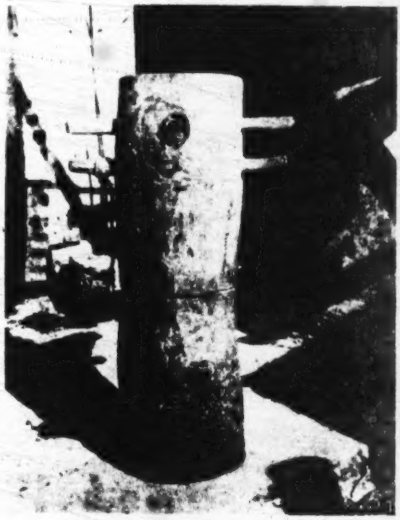
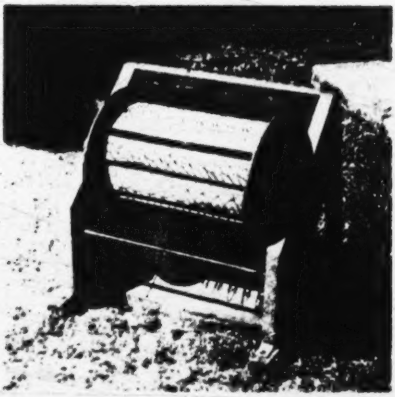


chichiūshi

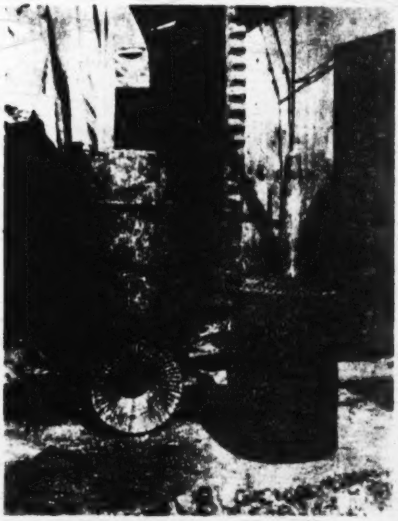


wooden rotary mill

407 ←
412
252 →



dakkokki



wooden rotary mill

[facing p.17]

178
In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami 175
has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the 241
Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 727
in each of the three areas is shown below:
311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the 178
whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. 241
Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago.

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering 178
(bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by 243
planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'.

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by
rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in [554]
the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food.

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. 178
This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was 243
drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was 412
introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find

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[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

178 243 412 [407] It apparently did not find widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.

178 252 Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 246 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 241 [342] After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush, which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their rebuilt houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 729 231 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war proceeded far more rapidly than replacement of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

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[1, 2] Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

[3] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Manahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

241 Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown
311 the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject
312 to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated
for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after
fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash
[137] clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or
unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield
[132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain
fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The
23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community
well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater
to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into
wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug
to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute
to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in
Okianwan and American terms.

241
433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.15 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

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[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd. 241 433

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,716	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste". 311 311 824

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name *nā'ichū.* 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or *fūchibā*, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the *hirahāgusa*, used to cure leech bites; and the *warabinufūnii*, or edible bracken fern. [137]

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or *sannin*, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or *m-bashi* (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, *Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō*, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951. [276]

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the *yūna* tree are a native

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[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

The leaves of the *yũna* tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
[178] people grew *kuroki* for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him
to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near
the home, for it discourages termites.

241 *Fertilizers* Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil
and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added,
and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of
animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new
variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes
heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the *yũna* and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryũan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

[177] Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the 423
land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two 427
of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field.

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', 423
per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a 427
doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total 435
of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947.

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was 423
to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels.

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of 262
Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the 171
use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes
differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference [263]
is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet.

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet po- 262
tatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish.

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [825] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those [231] for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an [251] equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. *Tōfu-champuru* is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a 252
little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called *kashijii*, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [257]
nished the base for *kachijā-s̄i*, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as *tushibii* is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

- --Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
- --Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
- --Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
- --Several slices of fried bean curd
- --Fish cake
- --Deep-fried sugar batter
- --A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
- --Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
- --Red rice; noodle soup
- --Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

- --Two pieces of pork
- --1 piece fried bean curd
- --Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
- --1 piece of pork heart
- --Two pieces of fish cake
- --A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
- --Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
- --Two pieces of sweet pound cake
- --Two pieces of *kujimuchi* (a rice cake)
- --Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
- --One deep-fried flour dumpling
- --Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 **Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes** The standard famine foods on Okinawa
262 have always been dried sweet potato
chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the
same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small
[252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups,
and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant
[137] *Ligularia Kaempferia*, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and *chiipappā* in Oki-
nawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The *chiipappā* which I ate in Kin-son dur-
ing the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came
back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The
giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It
[252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with
a bitter orange called *shiisā*. The meat was then fried with vegetables and
the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a
177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail-
276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some peo-
ple preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used
for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea
272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lan-
tana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 **Uses of Sugar in the Home** When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home,
[574] he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite
often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep
[757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover;
and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the
177 time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up
many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was
438 sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar
provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the country-side buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military de-
[435] pendents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings
a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn
[435] sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a
one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re-
[435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was:
first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a
[439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This
accounts in part for the reluctence on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community 435
considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants.

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the live- 727
stock of Okinawa, and recovery has 231
been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the Amer- [177]
ican religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction.

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on 439
Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. 435
For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400.

Before the war there were many people traveling through the country- 438
side selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would 178
visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communi- 443
cations by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town.

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from 464
poorer families who are just getting a start in the commun-
ity. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid [465]
¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900
for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer
had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but
receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and
cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that
he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
379 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100
249 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use
of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another
charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by,
and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the
war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they
are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the
'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field
for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300
'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The
'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in
the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers
are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted
[435] into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for
machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of
paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for
finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at
Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied
with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000
additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for
¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and
polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring
village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash
for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445 the hulls (*mumigara*), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually [437] pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, 476 rural folk resort to exchange of labor as [437] much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463] tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [393] labor. The custom of *iimarū* is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178] corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249] had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called *yiisē*. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452] kaya grass is also *yiisē*, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597] exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him.

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where
rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair
given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging
is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an
appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami
Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn
rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which
utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger
scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a
fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon.
After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resump-
tion of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large
dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served
to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay
for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills.
However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or
approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the
villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the
families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the
villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Conse-
quently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of
rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers
evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching
while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis
of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products 286
are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due 433
to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and 178
changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many
houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving
them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is
too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it.

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about 286
¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the 433
producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which [435]
sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in
one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of
the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate [464]
enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a sup-
ply of reeds is available.

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An in- 286
dividual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' 433
because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for 435
about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their
reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold
in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be
prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Co-
operative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima
where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale
was made early in 1954.

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of 294
their own clothing, and were self-sufficient
in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women
of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when [286]
not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed
looms from their neighbors.

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the [291]
usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home,
from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads
were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home.

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed 231
the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and 283
wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye
the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only 292
for grand occasions.

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes 294
as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and [434]
bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash avail-
able outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the *chigu* palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the *kuba* palm completed the list of major items
made at home.

291 *Postwar Home Industry in Yamada* Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably
the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[226] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No
[231] one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The *kubagasa*, the
[291] hat made from the *kuba* palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

Canvas acquired from the military has in part replaced the ricestraw mat called *nukubuku*, which is used for drying grain in the sun. There were also several looms for *nukubuku* in prewer Yamada, but few if any now. Before the war several families had looms for making *mushiru*, whose weft is reed ('i') and warp is cord made of pandanus root. At the present time one old man still makes *mushiru*. His loom is a primitive double-bar loom and it takes him more than a day to weave one mat. He cannot compete with the much faster looms used at Kanegusuku. 286 178

3. Rural Finance

The chief money crop is still sugar, and the leading financial institution in the countryside is still the 'moai', or mutual loan group. However, there are innumerable other occasions when the farmer must pay out money or borrow money. These occasions include personal loans, village taxes, levies, payments to officials, contributions of money for prizes at fairs, and occasional contributions for village improvements. Finally, there is the traditional last resort of people in financial difficulties---sale of one or more of their children. 45

Mutual Loan Groups Before the war the mutual loan group, or 'moai' (Okinawan *muyē*) met only once or twice a year. Each of the forty shares (*kuchi*) averaged ¥20, and the record book had to have the 'son' office stamp upon it. The record book could not be shown or opened except at each meeting. Almost all postwar 'moai' meet once a month, and usually this is the fifteenth of the lunar month. The reason for this date is not known. It may have some relation to the fact that *habu* snakes are night feeders, and may feed less on moonlit nights; or it may be due to the need for moonlight to find one's inebriated way home. 452

Since there was no livestock after the war, most 'moai' then were formed with the main purpose of buying livestock, although the winner did not have to use the money for this. Nanahan people have an unwritten rule that 'moai' money may not be used to pay off debts. The amounts of the shares of the three postwar 'moai' reflect the slowly increasing amounts of money available to the farmer. The first 'moai' had twenty shares at ¥200 each; the second one had twenty shares at ¥500 each; the third and still-continuing 'moai'---scheduled to end in April of 1955---has twenty-four shares at ¥1,000 each.

Every 'moai' has slightly different rules, but all are relatively simple. The following are the rules for the Nanahan 'moai':

1. Time of meeting is about 9 P.M. Bids will be received about 9:30, but if a person is late or absent when the bids are read, he will not be able to get the money even if he planned a low bid.

2. Bids: if a written bid is for the same amount as a verbal bid, the money goes to the person submitting the written bid.

3. The money will be collected at the house of the *tuinushi* (person who was the successful bidder at the last meeting). The tuinushi must get three other persons to sign a guarantee of his reliability.

4. In case the *tuinushi* leaves the community, the guarantors have to pay for him. In addition, one of the three guarantors must pay all even if the other two are too poor to contribute their third of the amount.

5. If a person from another 'han' wishes to become a member when a new 'moai' group is formed, he must have a personal guarantor from Nanahan.

6. The person who receives the money (*ukuimē*) must pay ¥300 out of what he gets. ¥100 is to be contributed to the estimated expense fund or *gumuchi*, and ¥200 is for sake. The *ukuimē* must contribute one 'shō' of sake and other edibles for the meeting.[1]

7. When bids are submitted and no name is written on the bid, it is void. The exception: if no name is written, and only one person wants the money, he may get it by identifying the nameless bid as his own.

A man might bid ¥18,500 and win the 'moai'. This is ¥1,000 less than the amount that he will receive when the group next meets. However, he must pay in ¥1,000 at the meeting following the one at which he receives the actual cash. The ¥17,500 is then divided up among the remaining 23 share-holders, or *kakimē*. This would theoretically be about ¥761. However, the membership likes to deal in round numbers, and everyone is charged ¥765. The excess of ¥95 is added to the *gumuchi*, which the *tuinushi* keeps in trust for the next meeting. When it happens that the round number falls short of the required amount, it is made up from the *gumuchi*.

There are not actually 24 persons involved in the Nanahan 'moai'. Established farmers may own one and a half or two shares, while women and young men may want to own only a half share. On occasion, two persons may make a joint bid, and each must repay ¥1,000 at the next meeting after they receive the cash. A person may receive the pot once during the 'moai' cycle. A person who takes the pot early in the cycle often is too poor to put in his share in later drawings. He then asks one or two close friends, who are called *kunū* (Japanese, 'hōsōnin'), to put in the money for him. In the Nanahan 'moai' helpers are limited to two persons, although in 'moai' where the capital is greater, the helpers may increase.

The capital of a 'moai' and its period of existence depend upon the number of people and their resources. Frequently the men will have a 'moai' with shares of ¥1,000 and the housewives will have a hearth loan group, or *kamadō muyē*, with shares of ¥100-200. Sesoko island has such a housewives' loan group. Tenniya village on the northeast coast boasts of two 'moai'; one has 23 members with shares at ¥200 each, while the other has 40 members with shares of ¥500 each. Two groups in Toguchi have ten and eleven merchant members, with shares of ¥5,000 per member in each group. Although 'moai' with a capital of over ¥30,000 are said to be illegal, stories were frequently heard of 'moai' in the Tsuboya section of Naha in which the shares run as high as ¥50,000 each.

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[1] The 'sake' of course is bought by the *ukuimē* out of the ¥200 he has contributed. Last month's successful bidder (*tuinushi*) does not actually receive the money until this month's meeting, at which time he gives the party for the group and is called *ukuimē*.

Loans Almost no rural person deals as an individual with a bank for small amounts, as he is embarrassed to deal with strangers and has a tradition of distrust of city people in general. The small 'moai' is the mark of a rather stable agricultural community. Between the 'moai' and the city bank operates the individual loan shark, catering to people who need money desperately---either because of ill health or family troubles---or because with a little capital the borrower hopes to "make a killing" in some enterprise. These needy people are quite willing to contract to repay at the exorbitant interest rate of ten per cent per month. As might be expected, many persons default on repayment of these loans, to the intense and very vocal indignation of the lender. 452

Almost every 'son' has a credit cooperative, or 'Shin'yō Kyōdo Kamiai'. These are operated by the 'son' office, and when the money involved filters down to individuals the amount concerned is much less than one can obtain through a 'moai'. Amounts available for loan generally range from ¥10,000 to ¥15,000 for each village. Then the amount is divided according to the number of households in the 'han', or ward, of the village. Bigger 'han' can borrow about ¥3,000 while smaller ones may borrow ¥2,000. The money is borrowed by the 'han' and then sub-borrowed by individuals or by groups of two or three men. A person may but seldom does borrow directly from the 'son' office as an individual. However, repayment is always made on an individual basis, rather than through the 'han' and village. The village headman, or 'kucho', is the person responsible ('sekinin-sha') for the operation of the fund in his bailiwick. [632]

One Hanahan man has moved temporarily to Itoman. He obtained a GARIOA-subsidized bank loan for ¥360,000 ($3,000) to buy a truck. His success in finding customers in the Naha port area assures that the loan will not be defaulted. 453

'Son' Relief At the end of 1952 there were 335 persons, representing 114 households, who were receiving relief from the 'son' office. Details are presented below: 746 [632]

Class of Aid	From Prewar		Due to War		Postwar		Total	
	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons
Orphans	--	--	8	15	--	--	8	15
Aged persons	23	28	14	29	4	5	41	62
Widows	--	--	15	76	12	60	27	136
Sick persons	3	10	5	12	7	26	15	48
Disabled	8	13	3	7	1	5	12	25
Other	1	4	4	18	6	27	11	49
TOTAL	35	55	49	157	30	123	114	335

To obtain relief, old people must fulfill the usual requirements of living alone, being propertyless, ill, and without familial support. In the

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746
177 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621
427 **Rentals of Village-Owned Land** Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('batake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

[228]
[423] Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

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[632] **Taxes** The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Narahan taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Koseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

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[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities.
These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities.
Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when 858
a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even 432
though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest."

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. [548]
He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied.

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the
stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were
established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots
and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a
"main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the utuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a
pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat.
Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal occa-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351 its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation 128 to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592 The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 602 other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

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[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons
grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and
become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son
he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the
continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be
the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The
values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward
minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents
ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual
can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the
family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when
his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and
hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond.
Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love
and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[584] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if pos-
sible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is
only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her hus-
band, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her posi-
tion is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She
expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is
obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but
if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only
free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than
do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them
[171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the
same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at
times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they dif-
ferentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the
maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's
status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will
eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more
chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons.
Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they
are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when
they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may
sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this re-
sponsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own status, 171
the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

601 [184] [177] [142] But it is significant that the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[576] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a stranger [576]
may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect
it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system,
which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms.
It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished
(in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into
the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes
seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes
older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings
of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and
younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's
older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into
a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it
different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the
oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms
"father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the
same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance
of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential
unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kinship 601
terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 177 192 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 613 **Maintaining Continuity: House Names** Every house has a name (yaanunaa, Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

553 177 [566 614] **Personal Names** Before the Japanese annexation the two main social classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'samurai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names".
They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaning-
ful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to
males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now
to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give
his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daugh-
ters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents'
siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his
father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately
not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to re- [174]
veal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former
system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', pea- [565]
sants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [177]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They
did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names.
Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older
Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree
("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than
by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku,
"great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of
the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese
manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also
are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the
Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" read-
ing. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the
youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the
name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular
Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of
tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The
paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower
row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house
name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of
the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new lit-
tle Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his 592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] *Inheritance and Adoption* Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 *The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation*. Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the *munchu* (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The *munchu* usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so *munchu* of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain *munchu* in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that *munchu* for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the *jinan-bara*, "second-son belly", or *sannan-bara*, "third-son belly",

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[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

as the case may be. The *munchu* has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of *ugwanju* (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the
founder of the *munchu*), and several *kaminchu* (religious functionaries of a
semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch *munchu* may have their own
tombs, circuits of *ugwanju*, and *kaminchu*. If this is the case the main house
of the branch is called the *naka-muutu*, "middle root", and the main house of
the larger unit the *ufu-muutu*, "great root". In the absence of written records
the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units
may occasionally be reinterpreted by the *kaminchu* and by *yuta* (seeresses).

The members of a *munchu* need not, and often do not, have the same surname. 614
The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the *munchu* through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs [171]
became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But
according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can
go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot
inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And
the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's
munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's
surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century.
Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; [177]
those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant
in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members
of his *munchu* had different surnames. He said that under the old government
some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office
of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were
given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship
unit is the *uji*. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The *uji* have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an *uji* may bear
different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under
the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office
of governor of a *majiri* (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village,
he was able to take the name of that *majiri* or village as his surname.
Thus the members of an *uji* may be divided into several lines, each claiming
descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named
chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", *jinan-firugi*, "second-son-lineage", and
so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however,
the male members of an *uji* usually have given names written with two characters
read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of
Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example,
the Hyō *uji* consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu,
and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character
An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are
small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively
small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree
(literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families
refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung.
Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing
other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping
the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and
the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New
Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season
in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every
seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south
go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from
which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none
has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate
a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

614 562 It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the *ū-machii* before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a *kaminchu* for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future.

614 582 It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the *munchu* at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities.

2. The Life Cycle

805 177 *The Calendar* Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar.

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. [527] The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and *U-bung* or *Shichigwachi* (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon').

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[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about 177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays [527] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior- [787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same [776] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full 805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated 527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period. 805 527

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese annexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calendar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later. 805 177

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe. 842

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000. 843 [759]

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb. [774]

848 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

853 Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brasier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so 178 846
that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in [354]
the decline of the custom.

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is 852
the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief:

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the [844]
children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition.

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. [553]
In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains [787]
to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name.

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven [769]
god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to [782]
the god of the pigsty-privy.

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. [527]
A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects [787]
in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future.

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several [178]
may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example.

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not 847
wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. 783
One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai').

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been away for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [514] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is carried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed. 854

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net. [513]

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking. 856

Childhood: Adult Attitudes Okinawans recognize clearly that children are not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Okinawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes 858 [171]

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[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe,
overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American
children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children
that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan
adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done
or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may
discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to
the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and
then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The
American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes,
the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and
yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining
when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which
they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre,
where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although
they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different
people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no
notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes
toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling
to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[184] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an
Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were
from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered
his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about
speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home
and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual
expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is
inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it
well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive
when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost inherent
171 in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan,
adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing
adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably
used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such
a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of
verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some
extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking
to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words,
and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858 little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 191 underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198 more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858 explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197 demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198 the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186] with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 867 their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861 parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

56| punishment, the threat to send a child away is not an idle one. Nor is the threat to sell a child. Children are still sold, though poverty is doubtless the principal reason. The use of the threat to sell in dealing with a recalcitrant child undoubtedly has an effect both on the outlook of the child who because of poverty is actually sold and on the attitudes of others toward him.

Physical punishments include such measures as a slap on the buttocks, a sharp blow on the head with the knuckles---especially with the joint of the middle finger protruding from the clenched fist, a pinch on the fleshy part of the thigh. These last two are particularly used by older women and are rather severe so that after a few experiences the child is likely to be impressed by the threat. Instead of putting the child out of the house, a parent or grandparent may confine the child by tying him to a post of the house or tying him and putting him into a box up on the storage shelf on the rafters. [57] Another treatment is to have moxa burned on the skin. This is a recognized medical practice and its use is interpreted as curative rather than punitive.

The following occurred in a family that occupied a quarter of a city house. The mother was told by one neighbor that another neighbor was telling people that she had observed, through a crack in the wall between their sections of the house, the seven-year old son of the first woman kissing his twelve-year-old sister and displaying his genitals to her. The mother was nearly frantic with worry about the story. She confronted her son and asked him what had happened. He said he didn't know. The mother then said, "Mother saw it, so tell me about it." The boy repeated that he did not know what she was talking about. Then she said, "The kami-sama (gods) saw it, so you can't hide it." He remained silent. Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll go to the police station and then maybe we'll find out what happened." The boy continued to remain silent. Nothing at all came of the matter. The mother later concluded that the gossipy neighbor, with whom she was not on speaking terms anyway, may have made the story up. The mother's statement that she had seen what happened was an outright lie and if the story was false the boy must have known it was a lie, or he could easily have concluded that it was a lie from the very manner in which it was said. The threat to take him to the police of course never materialized; it may have been an old one and therefore also recognized as an empty threat. It is possibly significant that the mother questioned the boy rather than his older sister.

A good example of punishment devised to fit the crime is provided by the following incident reported by Lebra. An old woman lived alone with her grandson, a boy of seven or so. The boy was rather mischievous and on several occasions started fires in the house. The grandmother scolded him for it at first but the last time he did it she used more drastic measures. She caught him, tied him to a house-post, tore two long strips of paper, stuffed an end of each up one of his nostrils, and lit a match to the free ends that dangled down at his waist. As the smoke curled up into his nose and the flames licked nearer, he screamed and promised never to play with matches again. Before he was burned the grandmother removed the burning strips of paper. When she was satisfied that he would reform, she untied him. She

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of rel- 861
ish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing.

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two 855
occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a
deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first oc-
casion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby
sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object
of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he
would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of wo-
men would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the
second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going
to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and
produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he
went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The
women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from
hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its
main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly pro- [154]
vide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against
males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in
the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sis- [867]
ter, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the [152]
same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions.

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned
hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regard-
ing it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched ex- [861]
pectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed
more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teas-
ing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be
avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to
associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression
of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because
it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort [155]
because it brings laughter.

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

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524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[209] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[177] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[569] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
[877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
877 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

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[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [184]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

575 883 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual pruposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people
were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as *moo-ashibii* ("playing
in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would
semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a
'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where
they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of sec-
recy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[562 go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the
[565 village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly
to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that
some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food
and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes con-
tinued to go to the *moo-ashibii* after marriage.

A similar institution was the *yagamayaa* ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities *yagamayaa* were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a *yagamayaa* was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a *yagamayaa* for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are *yagamayaa*.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

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[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[583] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[184] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come
[583] to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurimuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

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[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585 that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178 he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565 woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the *juri-nuyaa*. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a *juri* or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took *juri* as 837 mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556 perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own *juri*. She was a *kooi-juri*, a "bought *juri*", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own *juri*.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595 man who has enough means to have a second wife (*yuubee*, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office [757] at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treatments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual
relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard.
If they have children they can have relations only after the children have
fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told
nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their
[831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her
husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or
times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through
[837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may
have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

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522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons
looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it
was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost 548
wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a *juri*. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's
a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be
narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified
with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and
drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to.
(Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers
and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children
grow up hearing about *juri* and *jurinuyaa* and associating them with other
pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising
that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different
from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three
thousand *juri*.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were
entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" *juri*, but sex was one of the
principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average
farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could
have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the [184]
better-off city man. The *jurinuyaa* has played an important role in Okinawa
society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity
to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in
view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely
that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom
to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the
same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed [171]
of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number
of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation
of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very
noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see
any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very
active on Okinawa.

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[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

[2] Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

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562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[157] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters
her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grand-
[887] children while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons.
She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can
only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth
is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest
son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have
to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak
of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself
and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights
than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and
he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had be-
fore. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young
people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of
the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[794] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[156] and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually
women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less
chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada
family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest
a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while
the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the
opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man
took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neigh-
borhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume
the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

889 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as
I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of
the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the
cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter
of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as
one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the
birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year
recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are cele-
brated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the
cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse---1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family. 888 527

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety. 769

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined. 761

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted. 756 763

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a member of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it. 764

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the deceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never [793]

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[1] See Chapter IX.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the *gang*, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the *gang* containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the *gang* set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called *nimbuchaa* (from *nimbuchi*, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked
[171] down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 *Bone-Washing and the Tomb* After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the *munchu*. In some instances several *munchu* share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[565] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one
set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While
the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being
transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding
her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes
shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensitive 764
about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just mentioned, 765
someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the ceremony 123
in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously 829
damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had
not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old
lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members
were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect
that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away
with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium
is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread
very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are
still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of
burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impressive [554]
tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there
may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular
the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on
a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal
visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every
seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns
uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next
world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the
permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at
the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth,
twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this
time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if
all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the
dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the
spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and
tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and
6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups
worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the
7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside
these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he 152
is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to 593
believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he
becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offer-
ings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off
from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality.
The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system.
It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone,
and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word
'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed
view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human re- 593
lationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the 867
status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and fe-
male; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This
pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger so-
ciety, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the
family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him.
If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government,
as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he
may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times
deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children.

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened 593
the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of 178
the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subse- 177
quent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought
back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American
occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined
before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could
mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had other-
wise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more oppor-
tunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we
find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of
important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups,
and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to
their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family
ties are still strong.

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relation-
ship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger so-
ciety is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the
roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult
in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely
that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may re-
interpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure.
He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure
on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes
different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the
Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
177 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to
the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from
insufficient filial piety.

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CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954, there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa [illegible] its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or
township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate
communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son'
is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in
most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of
administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a
social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these
were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

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[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy.
Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural
ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the peo-
[181] ple is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an
attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed
family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

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344 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

maintaining tax records. The major departments within the 'son' office are General Affairs, Economic and Financial, School Affairs, Agriculture and Industry, Public Welfare and Social Affairs, and Land Affairs. The organization of the staff and the composition of the various departments are not consistent from 'son' to 'son', much depending on the size of the township, but in all cases the same functions are performed. The office staff also includes a chief accountant or statistician and a servant-janitor. The entire staff is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the 'son' assembly. Once a person secures such a job, he is rarely discharged except for gross incompetence or misbehavior; consequently, there is a very slow turnover of office personnel except among the young girls employed as clerks. 632

Next in importance only to the functions of the treasurer is the General Affairs Department ('shomuka'), which is responsible for the keeping of census data and the household registry ('koseki'). The latter is a record of particular importance to all citizens. A 'koseki' is a registry of the households (families) within the 'ku'; thus, in Kanegusuku-son there are eight 'koseki' for the eight villages within the township. Every individual is regarded as a member of a family, and every family has a place of permanent residence where its 'koseki' is kept with the others of the community. The 'koseki' for a family lists all members of the family or household beginning with the former household head ('koshu'), followed by the household head. Each member is listed according to his relationship to the head of the house, and also included for each person are birth order, parentage, birth date, marriage, divorce, place of residence (temporary and permanent). When a person dies, leaves the family or community permanently, marries (in the case of women only), or sets up an independent house of his own (males only), his or her name is crossed out in the 'koseki' of that family. When a woman marries, her name is crossed out in her father's and is entered in that of her husband or his family. When a younger son marries and sets up an independent house, his name is also removed from his father's household, and a new household record is begun with himself as head. The names of those who have died or have permanently left the community are entered in a record called 'joseki' (literally---removed from registry) which is a listing of all those names which have been removed from the household registries. Persons who wish to have a copy of their birth record and family affiliation secure a certificate called 'koseki shōnon' ('koseki' copy) which is an abbreviated 'koseki' listing the individual concerned and the household head. Everyone is theoretically listed in a 'koseki' somewhere, and without this one cannot secure government employment, enter school, or leave the country. Nevertheless, in every municipality and particularly in the urban ones there are a number of persons who live illegally unregistered; these persons are called 'musekisha' (persons without registered domicile), and they are said to be a source of concern to officials and police. In Kanegusuku-son there are three such individuals (known to 'son' officials) who are the offspring of American servicemen and Okinawan mothers. The mothers are said to be too embarrassed to come in and register the children, and the officials are hesitant to press the matter lest the mothers suffer any more anguish; however, unless the children are registered, they will be unable to attend school. In addition to these records the General Affairs Department also maintains an important registry of seal ('han') impressions which serve as the equivalent of legal signatures in American life. 632 217

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [666] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.	632
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.	651
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).	
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.	
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.	
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.	
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.	
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.	
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.	
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.	
jigyō-zei	Business Tax	
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.	[871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business. 632 [527]

Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

632 15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
16th - Sunday.
17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
19th -
20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurent Hanasaki, Naha, 5 p.m.
24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
26th -
27th -
28th -
29th -
30th - Sunday
31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku') presides over the administration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanegusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He receives a monthly salary of ¥1100 ($9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. [465] The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which m might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection with- 622
in the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official [651]
acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed [632]
to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary be-
tween the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather
than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the
township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role.

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the 624
assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and [465]
serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he
must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions
in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A vil- [465]
lage clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves
for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The
main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of edu-
cation and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little
appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in
the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elec-
tions were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and
quite reluctantly accepted it.

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in 623
his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts
of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one [465]
year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the vil-
lagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected ad-
visory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of
elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action;
he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions be-
fore initiating action.

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the 624
township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. 632
Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected.
They also play a part in village administration and are considered village of-
ficials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is
much valued.

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads 621
who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the 592
village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village elec-
tion one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, 666
but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one
village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting be-
gan as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches
or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates
had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads
so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to pre-
vail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the ap-
parent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance
had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision.

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[648]
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For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940 the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

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A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

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Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

3. Police

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Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the _jiturei_ who headed the rural district (_majiri_) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

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625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections
only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are
eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and
there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote,
but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would
not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a
part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept
of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their [177]
legal and political status has altered under the American military admin-
istration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are [829]
said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good
for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control
over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women
are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in
financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't
need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the
village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five
'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred
persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets
the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the
absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of
family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of
their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been
elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be
in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the
real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' in-
stead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still re-
tained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and
shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same
schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community cere-
monies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582]
marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197]
speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. Na-
tional organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into
their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further in-
tegration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the
households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 592
[181]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the
individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class dif-
[178] ferentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of
any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the fami-
lies were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of
Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed
by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatri-
ates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

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621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. [183] Minorities within the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homogeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him [672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. [178] Under the old kingdom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association with that family. 626 621 181 One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

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621 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is little room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village 642
is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the di- 621
rection of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level.

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure 621
of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several 829
villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford.

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

CHAPTER VII: POPULATION

F. R. Pitts

1. Postwar Growth and Change in Okinawa's Population

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727 **Repatriates** Much of the population increase in the first five years after the end of the war was due to the influx of repatriates. It is not known for certain just how many Ryukyuans were abroad. However, a rough picture may be seen by examining the statistics and comment presented in the Navy handbook:[1]

> No complete summary of the destinations of Ryukyu emigrants is available, but estimates drawn from a number of sources appear to indicate that the industrial regions of Japan proper and the Japanese mandated islands have attracted a vast majority of those leaving the archipelago. A summary of available estimates and census data on the destination of approximately 130,000 emigrants from Okinawa prefecture in the last quarter century is given below:

Destination	Number
Japan proper (principally to Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and Yokohama)	60,000
Japanese mandated islands:	
Mandated Marianas	25,772*
Western Carolines	4,943*
Eastern Carolines	3,474*
Marshalls	48*
Hawaiian Islands	11,000
Brazil	9,000
Peru	6,800
Philippine Islands	5,900
Argentina	2,300
United States	600
Total	129,837

*1937 Japanese Census Figures

Many more Ryukyuans came back than the above figures show were abroad. The difference may well be accounted for by a) some inaccuracies in the Navy handbook data, and b) repatriation of Ryukyuan soldiers. Repatriation figures given by USCAR are as follows:

Postwar, prior to August 1945	30,000[2]
1945	112,014
1947	7,738
1948	2,607
1949	1,585
Total postwar repatriates	153,944

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[1] P. 55.

[2] USCAR estimate, p. 79 of CAARI.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 369

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

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[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

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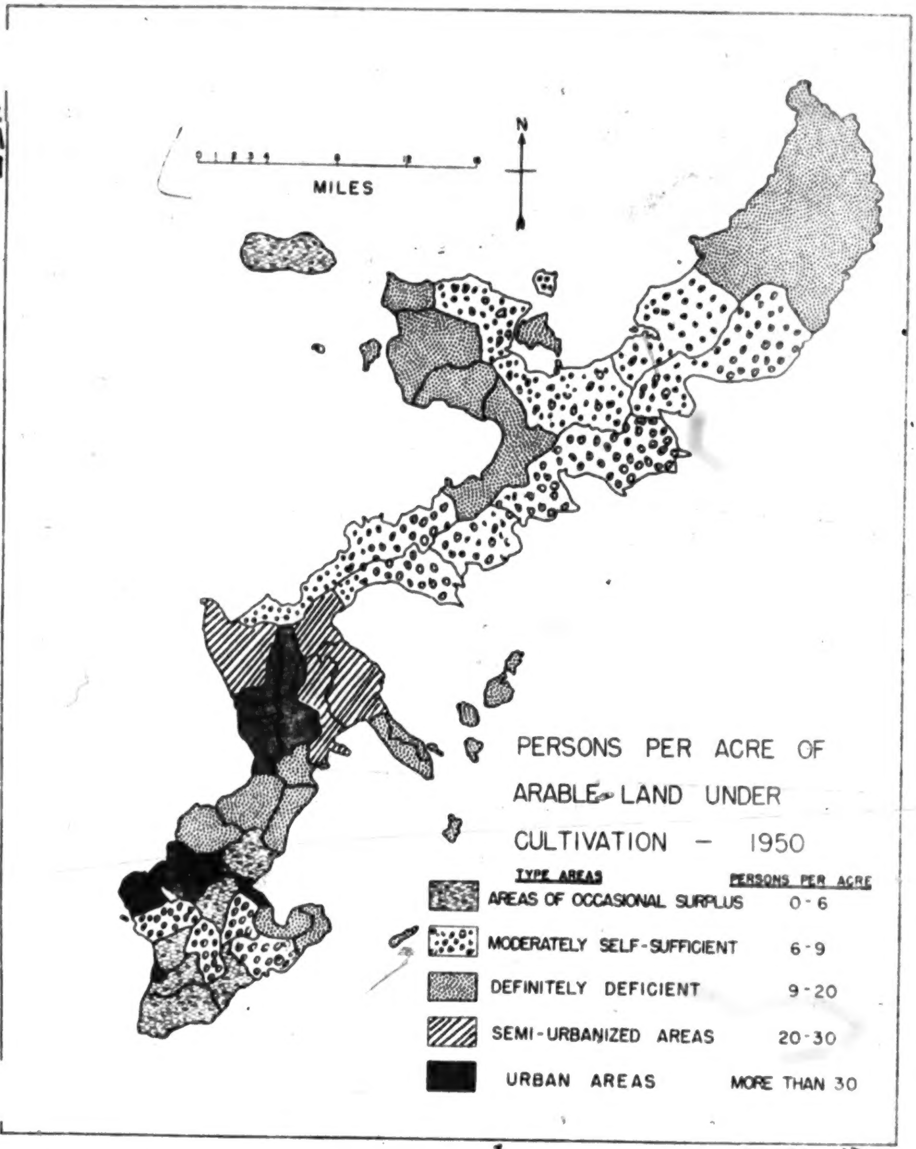
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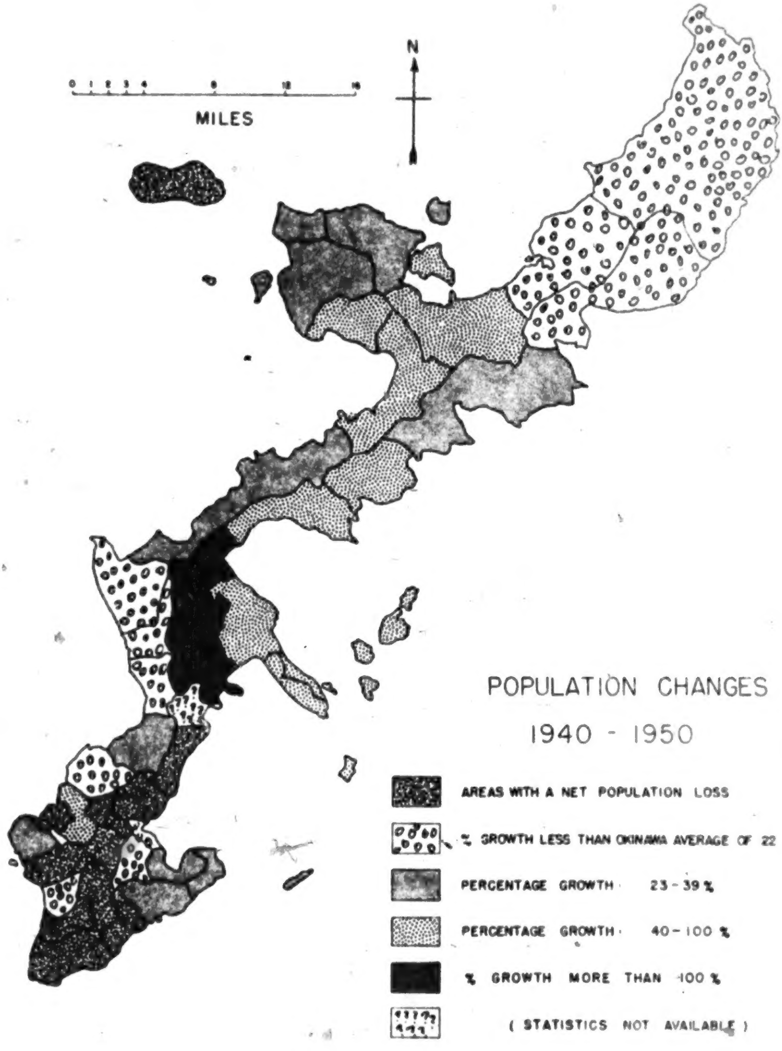
MILES
N
PERSONS PER ACRE OF ARABLE LAND UNDER CULTIVATION - 1950
TYPE AREAS
PERSONS PER ACRE
AREAS OF OCCASIONAL SURPLUS 0-6
MODERATELY SELF-SUFFICIENT 6-9
DEFINITELY DEFICIENT 9-20
SEMI-URBANIZED AREAS 20-30
URBAN AREAS MORE THAN 30

Map 5[1]

[P. 96-A]

[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]


0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
N
POPULATION CHANGES
1940 - 1950
AREAS WITH A NET POPULATION LOSS
% GROWTH LESS THAN OKINAWA AVERAGE OF 22
PERCENTAGE GROWTH 23 - 39 %
PERCENTAGE GROWTH 40 - 100 %
% GROWTH MORE THAN 100 %
(STATISTICS NOT AVAILABLE)

Map 6 [1/A]

[P 96-B]

[1/A] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. [167] This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. [161] Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] [548] [illegible] [illegible] [162] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

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[1] CAARI, p. 78.

[2] The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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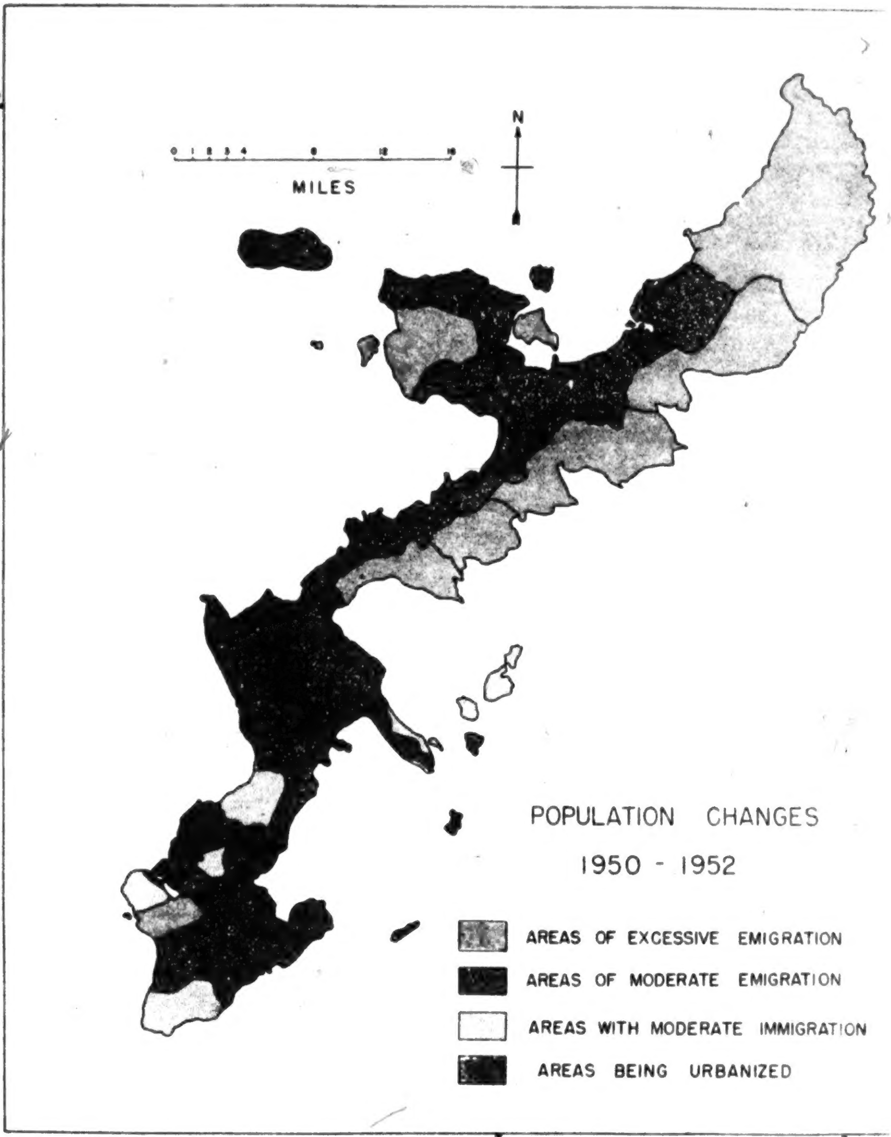
0 1 2 3 4 8 12 16
MILES
N
POPULATION CHANGES
1950 - 1952
▨ AREAS OF EXCESSIVE EMIGRATION
■ AREAS OF MODERATE EMIGRATION
☐ AREAS WITH MODERATE IMMIGRATION
■ AREAS BEING URBANIZED

Map 7[1A]

[facing P 98]

[1A] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst] more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.[1] 162 [165]

The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook[2] states the following:

> The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:[3]

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
Okinawa Guntō	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
Naha	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
Mawashi	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
Naha-Mawashi	2.28	2.34	4.62	95.8
Kochinda-son	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

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[1] T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

[2] Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

[3] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

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2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428] [178] [177] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores 121
of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics 16
of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified 162
into seven categories. Where possible this was 592
done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

562 first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 592 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

[582] Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

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592

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were:

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

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[1] See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

[2] Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Koshinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
[848] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the
illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were
male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the
same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would
indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
592 In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
886 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters
ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of
60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly
66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
592 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight fe-
597 male, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted.
Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up
to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 26%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before
1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	4	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

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[1] Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

[2] This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

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The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

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[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

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163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

[171] A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 [171] Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 178 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

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[1] Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.

[2] CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.

[3] Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.

[4] The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.

[5] All 39 cases are represented above.

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Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.5
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

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[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

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582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

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[128] [1] The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

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The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby saw a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

582 When the three categories are broken down by birth order of the father, interesting patterns become apparent. For those who report marriage before conception, there is a decline in the percentage reporting as the birth order of the father becomes greater. This seems to be related to the amount of family land held, and therefore is a concomitant of status in the community. That half of the fathers who are second sons report marriage after conception but before birth is connected with the tendency to report the setting up of a separate household, or 'bunke', to the village office the same day the marriage is reported. Table XIII treats with the percentages concerned.

Table XIII

Birth Order of Husband	Marriages Recorded Before Conception		Marriages Recorded After Conception		Marriages Recorded After Birth	
First Son	14	17%	33	40%	36	43%
Second Son	6	13%	23	50%	17	37%
Third Son	2	8%	10	42%	12	50%
Fourth Son	4		5		2	
Fifth Son	1		2		2	
Sixth Son	1		2		-	
Birth Order Unknown	1		2		2	
	29		77		71	

The birth order of the husband seems to have very little effect upon the aforementioned tendency to report out-village marriages after the first baby arrives. The following table gives the numbers concerned according to birth order of the husband:

Table XIV

	Birth Order of Husband	Out-Village Marriages	In-Village Marriages
Marriages Recorded After Birth	First Son	21	15
	Second Son	10	7
	Third Son	7	5
Marriages Recorded After Conception	First Son	17	16
	Second Son	6	17
	Third Son	3	7

In this category the delay in reporting the marriage after the birth of the first child ranged from one day to 672 days. One marraige was reported on the date of the first child's birth. The first two months after birth saw 68 of the marriages reported. The details of the range are shown in Table XV.

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Table XV

Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

[59] In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yōshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions.

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

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[1] The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.

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582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 831 848 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

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If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

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[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

848
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Table XVIII, cont'd.

Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

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(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

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848 851 (Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 848 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

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[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not burn until January 1954.

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848 The ages of the mothers at the first illegitimate birth are shown below. Unmarried mothers naturally had their first illegitimate child sooner than did the widows, but the amount of overlap in ages is worthy of note.

Table XXI

Ages	Unmarried Mothers	Widows	Total
16	1		1
17	1		1
18	5		5
19	5		5
20	4		4
21	8		8
22	10		10
23	9	1	10
24	5	1	6
25	4	2	6
26	5	1	6
27	1	3	4
28	2		2
29	1		1
30		3	3
31		6	6
32			-
33			-
34		2	2
35		3	3
36		1	1
37		4	4
--			
41		1	1
Unknown	13	1	14
Total	74	29	103

Relation to Household Head In Kochinda-son twenty categories were found of relationship of the household head to the illegitimate child. However, just three categories---mother, mother's father, and uncle---account for 64% of the cases. The distribution is shown in Table XXII.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XXII

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Number of Illegitimate Children Involved
Mother	27
Mother's Father	23
Elder Brother	10
Mother's Elder Brother	9
Mother's Younger Brother	9
Mother's Mother	8
Mother's Husband	5
Uncle[1]	4
Self	3
Father	2
Grandfather[2]	2
Mother's Former Husband	2
Mother's Sister-in-Law	1
Mother's Adopted Son	1
Mother's Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Deceased Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Adoptive Father	1
Husband's Father[3]	1
Husband's Elder Brother[3]	1
Unknown	1
Total:	112

Information on the age and marital status of the 106 illegitimates as of 31 December 1953 indicated that two were married and over 21 years of age; one was married and under 21 years of age; the remaining 103 were unmarried minors.

Comparison with Other Areas It is interesting to compare the figures for the thirteen villages comprising Kochinda-son with the data from the villages of Kanegusuku and Kitazato. The relationship of household head to the illegitimate child was the mother in four instances, the mother's parents in six instances, and a sibling of the mother in eighteen instances. The breakdown is given below:

Table XXIII

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Kanegusuku Illegitimates	Kitazato Illegitimates	Total
Mother	1	2	3
Mother's Husband	1	-	1
Mother's Mother	2	1	3
Mother's Father	1	2	3
Mother's Sister	-	1	1
Mother's Brother	7	10	17
Total:	12	16	28

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[1] It is not certain whether he is the mother's or father's brother.

[2] Whether he is mother's father or father's father was not ascertainable from the 'koseki' record.

[3] These two illegitimates are married; their pre-marital relationship to the household head in the family of their orientation is not known.

[Koohinda-son]

A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 689. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

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[Kochinda-son]

Table XXV, cont'd.

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Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

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Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163
To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Guntō in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

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[1] This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

[2] Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

[**Kochinda-son**]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [144]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

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[1] George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
[2] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

[Kochinda-son]

586 **Childless Couples** Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1948, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 **Divorce Histories** A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

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[1] In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon *de facto* count rather than *de jure* count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 **The Museki People** 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 **Ad Hoc Counts** Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

__'Koseki' Changes__ The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration 217
in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

__'Koseki' Inaccuracies__ The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in [777]
order to bring about a change in their luck.

__Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data__ The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people 217
registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration 162
those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved 592
elsewhere.

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought [369]
about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they [829]
fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made.

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

__The New 'Koseki'__ Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered 217
a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An
[648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women,
[777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
423 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---
178 at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('Jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities
[361] consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

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423 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the 175
majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (polit- 423
ical unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the [632]
various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was de-
pendent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; conse-
quently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a
proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The
distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth
century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru
priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers
worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the 175 423
family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from 651
Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was 632
held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to
recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action
against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters
were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the
offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, [672]
its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the [613]
lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had
to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a [621]
number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of 175
Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which 423
could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, 651
although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only
arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house
lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands
which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on
the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a
fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40%
of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

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[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percentage,
423 since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were
made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility
of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain
areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load,
and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials
and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the
farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity
was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal
ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula
a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live
elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult
one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor
in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It
was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight;
therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained
during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts
were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished,
members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by
the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before
except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the
Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is
to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the
reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1]
Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into
the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting
claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator.
By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

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[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug-
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an [171]
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

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[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 727 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 423 [648] On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 647 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land registry and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

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[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for
Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son'
but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided
into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry
fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland),
4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including
graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are
food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability
of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within
the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five
grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and
two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of
category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami
Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo;
therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a
tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dissatisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 428
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupa- 829
tion should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except
for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless
of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate.
In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk
of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to
dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Oki- 184
nawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized,
however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are
not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the
emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would
do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of [34] Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in [121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for [592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con- [613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village [582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming; 463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part- 241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under 311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields. [434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of [136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who
423 still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage.
Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it
425 out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle.
[427] Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who
leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell
their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment
for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job
or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is
also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots,
especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an
[769] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again
427 in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family 427
which could be classified as rentier.

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribu- 621
tion of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many 423
of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has 177
but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some
houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained be- 727
cause of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that
only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of
the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a
small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis
sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no
one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and
several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not com- [186]
pensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed
there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so
"naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people.

621
The composition of the household has changed in many homes since 592
the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of house- 177
holds consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their off- 727
spring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children
or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In
most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household func-
tions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes main-
tained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but
they are usually watched over by near relatives.

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a 621
second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son 556
he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During 727
the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The
war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him
the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the
surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently,
this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat [769]
envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must
make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is
felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to
calamity.

621
The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to main- 589
tain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, 727
and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed.
Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; [462]
therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby los-
ing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which con- [427]
tains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two [476]
days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man.

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 727 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a
month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider
has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment
worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks,
and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors
in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-
tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more,
though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the
younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are
eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan
student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the
town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their
cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricul-
tural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One
young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured
a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their plea-
sure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status.
Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will
never be necessary to return and farm it.

[178] To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land 241
which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed 829
by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, 554
for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems 463
absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a 621
marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss
of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the vil- [727]
lage of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for com- 121
parisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily 621
on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as [124]
accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages
elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their
circumstances.

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven gener- 175
ations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. 621
It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time
of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by
the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as
an independent village, taking its present name.

Following their release from civilian internment camps the vil- 175
lagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 621
1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into 727
an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their
account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the mili-
tary as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to
contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which dis-
rupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of
rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves
from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location.
It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the
entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections.
Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and
Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the
houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine
houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana,
taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just
north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter
two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes.
These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total
population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have
striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social
unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting
from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are [464]
too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield
is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first [735]
impressions of the village.

[Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site
727 over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the
periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives
in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus,
Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that
side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama
people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset
to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which
[249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which
[434] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export
[233] to Japan provided an additional source of income.
[439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kita-
zato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was
[361] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those
of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose group-
ing in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction
(sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains
but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only
a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland
was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is
[134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148
'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each
house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku,
Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their conten- 621
tion that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Be- 829
cause of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that 727
their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs.

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On 621
first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck al- 735
most immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Oki- 511
nawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed
tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a [342]
single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to
kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was con-
siderably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply [312]
the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the
hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine [342]
trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however,

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best. Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of 621
Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic 829
government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and
they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were
heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or
look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are."

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth 621
association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when 575
compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for
such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of
the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The
ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have 621
sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association 829
is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little 242
can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 241
'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered
by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and
other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the
planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy
food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to
mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and
even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not
bring enough cash to feed them.

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, 621
much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common 186
problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear
to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate
neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established
in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today [197]
the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of
their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and
linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration
and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to
be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength
of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only
through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real
village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem
no obstacle to this.

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in 621
regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 427

621 427 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 829 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they frequently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves 621 untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried me men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about.

The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. 621 829 For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yaeyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves.

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

[Kitazato]

621 If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in
829 the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

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CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will
be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third
section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship
to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 **Eating and Drinking** Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events
the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the
Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can
be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not
in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served
in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the
second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that
it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[521] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential
[574] to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a raver,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [574]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562]
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering,
but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for
the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home
they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep
between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from
the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and
the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little
below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched
out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth
stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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[1] This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

[2] Burd 1952, p. 82.

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[783] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should
be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are
harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because
he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys,
when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in
order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased
away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward
nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until
early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are
several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---
that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---
but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently
no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo
artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty
and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not
consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for
purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth.
People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may
win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a
great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [294]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have
seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman
while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though
they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night- [241]
soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term *kusu* is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or
animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as *mii-kusu*, "sleep" in the eyes, *haa-kusu*, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in [578] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase, [777] *kusu takkwee*, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, [775] sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (*mabui*), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 **Sex** Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as 864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1], [839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem 883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at 178 night for parties, *moo-ashibii*, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through *moo-ashibii* with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus- 548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called *juri*, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The [178] *jurinuyaa*, "*juri* houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown [858]
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts,
thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later
that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is
keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of
friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off
the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A
larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies
and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the
blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller
black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[757] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly
explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks
properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented
on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America.
The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to
leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his
hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand.
As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be
better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a
mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that
the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has
to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes
before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be allowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in
[514] the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less
basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless.
Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the
yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but reeducation. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge. 751 753

The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers. 751 825 753

Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.[1]

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation. 751 753

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[1] I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly
in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga
warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

000 Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village
was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
000 formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [171]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both
places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called
ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the
dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead,
people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'),
which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from
it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that
"yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather
than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the
"p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal
[777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent
introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human
existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always
776 clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship.
These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or
local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where
he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit
these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of
the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most
important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become
deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and
yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent
two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.)
776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands
778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind
the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel
is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is
established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it
with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some
776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered
782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings
are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month
776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's.
One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like
a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when
the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during
the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the
corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy
782 God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases
of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of 772
Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept
does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the sub-
ject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the [775]
dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may in-
clude them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be [776]
identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few
enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem
informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may [177]
in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with
educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making
Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of [181]
concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia
to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authori-
ties, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems.

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with 776
supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake.
But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man,
in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was
seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa.

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fire-
ball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain [787]
times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is re- [184]
garded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of [372]
this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the
village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.")

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This
being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, [757]
if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very [184]
valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only
the Itoman people know about.

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Cer- 778
tain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-
dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It
is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become
religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of [171]
supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the
Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural 171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

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774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg- [778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui reentered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the [776] pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual [775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a [756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[2] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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[1] Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

[2] Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any
other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse".
Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail
has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said,
the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig
dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which
causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" 784
(yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village
and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for
fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune 753
is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained,
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors 775
of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings
and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on
the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family
know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored,
by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm
their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear.
At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various
religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies,
what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore
causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi)
which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto
unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although 753
this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate
child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least [848]
once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his
father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother
of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to
let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship 753
between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its
mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

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[1] Tawada, 1951.

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt
over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she
said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the
navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy
who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (*mannaa*,
Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons
who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the
benefit of others are called *mannaasaa* ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem
to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little
specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment
of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all
skin ailments.

1. *Kamigasaa* A *kasa* (skin eruption or rash) caused by *kami* (gods). 755 757

a. *Irigasaa* Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [164]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person
('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before
they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter
and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request"
the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick
child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease.
But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it
only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

755 On the 3rd, 5th, and 7th days after the appearance of the rash,
757 *mijinaarii* ("water-stroking") is performed. It must be performed at the
753 time of day when the tide is beginning to ebb. In the case observed it was performed by the child's maternal grandmother. The old woman first placed a cup of water before the incense-burner representing the Fire God, lit two sticks of incense and placed them in the burner, and prayed. Then she took the water and applied it to the child's forehead and cheeks, stroking lightly downward. The prayer, explained later, went, "A Dog boy (i.e. a boy born in the Year of the Dog) has a request of *irigasa-ganashii* (term of respect); today I perform the third day water-stroking and so I beg that you make him well."

During the period when the rash is present and perhaps for a few days after, the child ought not to be bathed or even have his face washed; water, except for that used in the "water-stroking", is harmful to the patient. During the course of the disease and for about a month after, the child must not be permitted to eat heavy or fatty foods; these would cause a congestion in the child's throat which might become dangerous.

(In the case observed I asked if it were not true that light might hurt the sick child's eyes; it was agreed that this was said to be true, but it seemed to be distinctly a secondary consideration. The question, in fact, led to a discussion of the decline in the practice of keeping doors tightly closed in order to keep out ghosts.)

b. *Mijigasaa*, "water rash", a second type of *kamigasaa*. It is also caused by a god, but it is not as serious. It may be caught two or three times. The eruptions contain a fluid, hence the name. The rash spreads if the fluid touches other parts of the body, so the eruptions are covered with sweet-potato starch when they begin to run. Treatment also includes "water-stroking" and certain food restrictions while the rash is present.

2. *Kaji-ooraa-kasa* A rash accompanied by itching but no running. It may be caught by either a child or an adult. It is caused by *yanakaji* ("bad winds", i.e. ghosts). It may be contracted either while out walking in the hills or while at home. This disease must be treatly unkindly; the patient should be sworn at and slapped. The itching may be stopped by the use of a pair of 'zōri' (a Japanese style sandal). The person who knows how to perform the treatment first heats the 'zōri' over a fire and then while uttering a spell (*mannaa*, Japanese 'majinai') he rubs their undersides over the face and body of the afflicted person. He then takes the 'zōri' to a crossroads and puts them in the middle where someone will step on them. This will stop the itching.

An incident was related where this disease was confused with the first one described. At the end of the war, in Ishikawa, an old man of 75 became ill and broke out in large pox. His family believed his disease was caused by *yanakaji* so they gathered around him and shouted curses ("Eat feces", etc.) at him to chase the *yanakaji* away. But the old man merely got worse. Then they consulted a *yuta* and were told that the illness was not caused by ghosts but by a god and therefore they should speak politely. They did so and the old man recovered.

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3. *Tangasa* A rash with running eruptions, which may be contracted by both children and adults. It begins at the nape of the neck or at the base of the spine. If it spreads all the way around the neck or trunk the patient is in danger of losing his life. One ought not to say the name of this disease and so instead of saying *tangasa*, people say *naa-irannuu-gasa*, "the rash that is not called by name".

A person with this disease may be treated by a *mannaasaa* (spell-worker, in Japanese, 'majinau hito'). The patient is taken to the *mannaasaa* early in the morning. The *mannaasaa*, before drinking morning tea even, takes a full puff of tobacco, blows it on the affected spot, and recites a spell. He must say the words without taking a breath and without making a mistake for them to be effective. The words are addressed to the disease, which is probably caused by ghosts.

4. *Heegasaa* From *hee*, "skin"; a condition in which the face and scalp become a mass of scabs and the eyes matter. The condition occurs in both children and adults, but seems more common among smaller children. It is treated in small children by blood-letting (*banchuung*, in Japanese 'sakuru'). Most infants are said to be bled for breaking out on the buttocks. The buttocks are cut with a razor blade just enough to draw blood. If *heegasaa* develops it is because the bad blood has not all been drawn out, and so the treatment may be repeated. If the bad blood is not drawn out in childhood the condition may become much worse in adult life. (The mild condition for which infants are bled looks to me like what would be called "diaper rash" in America. The *heegasaa* is a truly hideous condition which afflicts a number of small children and a few older persons. One of the USCAR medical officers referred to it as "scruff" and expressed the belief that it could be checked in its early stages with a frequent application of warm water and soap. Once it gets started, however, exposure to dirt and flies must make improvement difficult. One case encountered by Lebra had continued for several years. An informant mentioned cases from before the war that had lasted from childhood into adult life; two brothers had *heegasaa* so that they could not go to school, could not marry, and did nothing but stay at home and scratch themselves. It was said that even more than they feared policemen, they feared flies. This informant believed their condition was caused by their not having been properly bled when children; another informant suggested congenital syphilis.)

5. *Hajimakaa* A kind of rash that may be caught by a person who happens to pass by a tree called *makaa*. This tree causes the illness, but not to persons who have the Okinawan name (warabinaa) of Makaa. Therefore a person not so named who sees that he is passing a *makaa* tree will say, "I am named Makaa too, so if you give it to me I'll break your neck." If this fails and he contracts the illness, he may go back and tie rocks to the limbs of the tree so that they bend down, and repeat his threat.

756 787 [794] *The Yuta* The *yuta* has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman, though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some she is confused with the *kaminchu* ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A *kaminchu* is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family *worship* or assists the *nuru* in village worship on the important holidays. The *yuta* on the other *hand* is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an *ugwambusuku*, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it *is* who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the *saa* (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 *The Sanjinsoo* The most respected type of diviner is the person called *sanjinsoo* (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character '*three*' written three times) or *suumuchi* ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person *is always* a man, usually [177] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the *I Ching*, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The *sanjinsoo* is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year *and* before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for [787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the *sanjinsoo* consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up *the mark* on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the *sanjinsoo* deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods *may* influence men's lives. A *sanjinsoo* whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the *importance* of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an *impressive* number. Some *sanjinsoo* are said to function also nearly in the same manner as *yuta*.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country *villages*. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the *yuta*, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the *sanjinsoo* there are several other types of diviners, 791 such as *palmists*, physiognomists, and card readers. Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a *kaminchu-gwaa* or *yuta-gwaa*, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her [787] performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true *yuta* illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the *sanjinsoo*, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791 regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689 sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term *yabuu* seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759 literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177 The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan *yabuu*. The *yabuu* is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the *yabuu* include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

759 757 Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The *yabuu* took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The *yabuu*, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

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[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medi- 759
cal doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and _yuta_ or _yabuu_. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a _yuta_ or some
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the [431]
nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to
the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okinawans
are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experiment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept *ugwambusuku*, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the *jiiru*, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called *heegasa* or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that *heegasa* can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the *yabuu*, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the *yabuu* and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

Moreover, the suggestion has also come from Americans that burning moxa accomplishes something in the way of a psychosomatic cure by being a "counter irritant". One answer can be given to this viewpoint; the child whom I saw being treated with moxibustion could have had appendicitis, which is, I suspect, rarely cured by a counter-irritant. The moxibustion may do no harm in itself, but the mother's faith in the moxibustionist made her feel that it was unnecessary to take the child to a medical doctor.

The more central beliefs are those associated with the supernatural and indirectly with the organization of society, those that have to do with soul-loss, ghosts, and the insufficiency of worship. These would, under attack, persist longer than beliefs about the efficacy of the various curing techniques just mentioned--- blood-letting, moxibustion, etc. It is my feeling, as an anthropologist who speaks of medicine only as a layman, that faced with the problem of how to improve the health of the Okinawans, the medical man must view native beliefs with a fine balance of understanding and intolerance.

One further point must be made. Bettering the health of Okinawans will be useless unless other problems are solved. Economic insufficiency and overpopulation may only be increased by better health. It seems hardly worth-while to give life to more people if that life is not worth living.

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CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 565 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with 554
others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science.

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian 871
societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to 177
it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority 875
away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2]

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this 875
may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a 178
powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from 554
the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status.
Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were 875
receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A 465
police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must 178
have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present 625
receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years 554
of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman.

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[1] See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

[2] That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status
seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is
probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example,
have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
[871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was
rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not
encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the
teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free
discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
875 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same
persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some
[177] may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views
since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

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554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

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177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 177 212 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 177 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents---perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 177 871 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum beginning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these
are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations
that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later
unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan
literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two
obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good
phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a
trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in per-
sons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive.
If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa 000
with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

oooIt requires authority sufficient, and only sufficient, to command respect and attention, and this authority must be derived from scholarship as much as from status. And the task requires the cultivation of freedom to criticize in those being educated. This freedom, moreover, cannot be limited; it must be cultivated in fields of natural science, social relations, the arts, and, as befits a democratic society, particularly in politics.

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
423 administration relatively few changes were
177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
177 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
619 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following [702]
discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers 177
of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished 829
the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy 433
so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. 177
Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, 433
and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening 177
of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation 177
of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually 727
all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [562] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased [311]
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns [491]
of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed
and the island transportation system has improved to a point where
villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things
faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It
has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the
breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too
on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of
money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor
exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that
they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of
change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in 178 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved
transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A
network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt
roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945
the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each
day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or
city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha
many items are taken there for sale.

178 361 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior 178 546 [177] to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

178 241 [311] Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical.

178 241 554 [566] It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another.

178 241 651 311 The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began.

241 433 The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can
be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan
farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any
554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever
is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which
241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has
been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at
311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.
727 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the
loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point,
they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are
not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under
reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available
again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last
fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of
433 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the
reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

Settlement Patterns The reconstruction of villages after the war
178 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada
361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new
postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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[1] Cressey, George B., Asia's Lands and Peoples, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

[2] Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of 178
post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent 341
in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on
the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair [443]
shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements.
With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there
seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop.

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction 178
appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There 342
are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will
suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure.
When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar
period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have
occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers
and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven
bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, [171]
and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the
Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been
a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack
of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls
and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that
which is most frequently built.

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; [177]
however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential
buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is
regarded as a temporary device.

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare 177
of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from 178
Japanese and American magazines. 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable 177
evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels 351
and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets;
old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number
are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips
serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed
in use as a clothes pole.

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and 177
a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, 178
baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly 433
in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war
only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this 28
process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better [329]
than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an
attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence,
Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan
origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the [727]
machinery employed, and replacement has never been made.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
286 production of mats,
433 today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but
ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines;
increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge
fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult
than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young
women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to
construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs
his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself
and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture
of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to
members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in
restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually
lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri
family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first
came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing
the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being
in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses
had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in
Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates
on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community
mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the
large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is
now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast
a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this
method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly
this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange 178
or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines 178
when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by 40
the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of
machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has [476]
necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine [437]
owner.

__Dress__ A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the 177
wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed 291
on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire.

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The [292]
kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan.

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still 178
widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture 292
has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness.

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing 291
of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, 177
surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted
that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small [439]
merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received.

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The 301
large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by 178
only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are [304]
seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country.

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 Diet With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of
[434] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean 178
paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now 262
may be purchased instead.

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village 527
celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly 796
O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; 178
today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were 621
basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped.

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held 527
on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but 178
today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed.

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved 526
immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These 177
are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men.

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association 575
and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature.

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture 546
theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films 177
constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless.

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. 533
Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party 535
provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests 177
participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations
and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
757 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
753 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern
177 medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots,
surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern
scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made
relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease
177 actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence
of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain
ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the
younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease,
they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding
generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the
abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation
inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
[582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly
kin-group endogamy.

● 757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood.
It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife,
herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance
excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There
seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin;
hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the
opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures,
or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt,
is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing,
and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made
inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several
communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been
no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural 871
areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making 177
Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the popula- [191]
tion is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language
are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to [829]
regard themselves as Japanese.

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension 871
of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by 369
the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportun- 178
ities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said
to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel
that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more
likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the post-
war period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improve- 877
ment has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and 178
during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of
residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges
to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized
groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of
teachers or police was often necessary to restore order.

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportun- 871
ities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational 554
opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who
acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village,
and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming.

437
Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; 436
barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding 178
system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the 177
Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis
on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to
destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash
crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption
of a money economy in the rural areas.

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the vil- 434
lage today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental 178
price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products [435]
(chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent
years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation.
Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the [464]
military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a
larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm
villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has
further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
511 The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably
592 Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for
the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in
their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with
regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are
no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
559 the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said,
"After the war everyone was equal."

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable 621
prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, 554
government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class.

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change 593
for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and 178
the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided [423]
the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the [428]
first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left
the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group 61
was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered 178
about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty."

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period 593
there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which 178
might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations.

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were 584
arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their 178
own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go
through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young [585]
people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents.

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage 582
has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men 178
are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 **Sex** It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
873 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 **Government** The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[669] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 **Religion** There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many 796
ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered 178
sufficient reason for their observance.

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current 764
funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, 765
several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should there- 829
fore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard.

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp 369
urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized 177
as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in [565]
contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences.

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. 369
The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change 177
initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer re- 178
lationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the 621
rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage.

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. 177
World War II and the American military occupation have served to 178
accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sustain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
[186] awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

121 In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

621 [361] *Changes in Structure and Orientation* The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. [241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were *yaarui* (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (*chijuunin*, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the *mee* ("front") and *kushi* ("rear") *yaarui* of Tirabaru and the *yaarui* of Uema were settled by commoners (*hyakusoo*, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (*yukatchu*, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the *yaarui* that were close together, the *mee* and *kushi* *yaarui* of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two *yaarui*, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single *yaarui* was evidently needed. This unit was the *chinju* (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a *chinju*, besides being each a 'han'. The two *yaarui* that formed a single 'han' also formed a single *chinju*. But the two *yaarui* that formed separate 'han' also formed a single *chinju*, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621
and into five *chinju*. The *chinju* was probably the older, "natural" unit, [177]
while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area 175
south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one 621
small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians 726
drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These out- 727
siders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village 175
during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some 621
returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they 727
were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the 621
prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated 178
settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old [361]
cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The *yaarui* of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and *yaarui* people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

[Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater
361 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been
178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater
177 dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to
178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has
178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south
484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their
177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the
American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they
727 continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the
[648] 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada 621
women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit 177
supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for 727
levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival.

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of 621
the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at 177
Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. 727
The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha 444
shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety [273]
of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit.

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The 621
term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's 177
Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", 727
all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from 836
outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers.

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses 621
of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 144
563

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that
they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered
any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside
Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and
their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters
who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands"
to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when
one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite
properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite
the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The
girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences
and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit
was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was
probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the
relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in
the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such,
and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in
GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is
one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds
and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of
the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is
directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by
the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have
much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following
reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because
people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad
environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house
would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money
they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain.
One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it
could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have
been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not
interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone;
action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about
the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on
the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too
were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to
its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

621 727 regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it.

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dug uts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

621 727 829 The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans.

621 727 177 To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the

[Yamada]

621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the
727 unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of
177 the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught
English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and
sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over
[177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621
727 **Kanegusuku** The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses,
464 there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments
464 or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary
166 residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance
621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma-
464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business
829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ-
[511] ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house-
[462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any
464 employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections
464 or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a
727 marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance
464 of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-
[178] time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military em-
464 ployment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would
[434] have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is
621 military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military
464 job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to
829 township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa dif-
727 fers from the above communities in that a large segment of its
464 population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and 621
food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its 464
livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic 505
relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and 433
shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding [430]
enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment.

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is 621
engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large 464
number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installa-
tions. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to [484]
their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland.

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people
are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, [562]
much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice.

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that [829]
it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside 621
from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a 177
few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The 829
villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island.

Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employ- 464
ment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions.

Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make 464
a sharp dis- 562
tinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their 829
attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact,

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who
were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief
that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office
workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids,
after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units;
lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers'
and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[177] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
591 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate
the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
466 they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
554 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
829 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American
or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been
sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's impression that even those
829 who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like and dirty in contrast to the Americans. 000

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not
a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is
a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the
social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
(171) denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw ser-
829 vice in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their exper-
726 iences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

829 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177
6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of
829 interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions
[729] to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in
Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an im-
pression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political;
the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the
829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was
726 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was
actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only
177 Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

177 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met
829 in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland /of Japan/". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

177
829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

648
829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government---along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

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829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional
648
829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had 648
nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists through- 829
out the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday.

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation 186
there have been Negro troops stationed 829
on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "colorman", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops.

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

186 829 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 829 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life [152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. 668
One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the 829
term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that 152
this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion.

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the 668
discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion 829
would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether.

RECOMMENDATIONS

000 Recommendations on policy can only be made in relation to objectives and therefore we must state first our assumptions about the aims of United States policy on Okinawa. We assume that the aims of United States policy on Okinawa are primarily to promote a stable economy and a friendly attitude among the nearly 600,000 Okinawans toward the United States. Both a stable economy and a friendly population are essential to the defense of the island as a military base. We further assume that essential to both economic stability and friendly attitude are the attainment of higher standards of health and education and greater social and political freedom than existed prior to 1945. And finally we assume that the United States has no intention of retaining the Ryukyus permanently (Secretary of State Dulles has stated that Japan has "residual sovereignty" over the Ryukyu Islands) and that the military forces will be withdrawn and the islands reverted to Japan when the international crisis ends.

With these assumptions then we make the recommendations that follow. Of these recommendations, two deserve special mention here; they are 1) the immediate payment of an adequate rental for lands used by U. S. forces, and 2) the granting of funds to raise the salaries of school teachers. The land question and the status of teachers are the two most serious problems that can be lessened by immediate action, or at least this was the situation as we saw it a year ago. These and other recommendations we give below topically rather than in order of importance.

453 927 Economy The economy of Okinawa, not especially healthy before the war, suffered greatly because of the war both through the widespread destruction of the battle and through the sudden increase in population brought by the repatriation of thousands of persons from other parts of the former Japanese empire. The task of reconstruction has been enormous and we are well aware that, considering conditions in 1945 (which two of us observed then at first hand), the present situation is not at all bad. We recommend the 000 following:

1) That the land question be settled immediately. The land question was undoubtedly the most urgent problem that we saw during the course of our research. The study of the village of Kitazato demonstrated that poverty, to the point of malnutrition and possible infanticide, together with considerable anti-American feeling has been caused by the confiscation of land without adequate compensation. We recommend that land be rented, not purchased, and that the amount paid in rent be at least equal to current market value, and that it be paid promptly. It is further recommended that payment for categories of land listed in the land records as "genya" and "sanrin" be according to the size of plot instead of the current practice of a flat rate per plot regardless of size.

2) That consideration be given to the possibility of opening to farming hitherto untilled areas in Northern Okinawa in addition to those areas

in the southern islands that are being reclaimed. We refer particularly to the plateau area just to the west of the east coast settlements of Arakawa and Sosu. Such a project could well begin with the completion of the road across the mountains to Ada.

3) That encouragement be given to the formation of cooperatives in Okinawan villages. There is already a strong tendency toward the formation of cooperatives in rural Okinawa. Village-owned and operated stores, sugar mills, rice mills, tea plantations, etc., exist in many areas. Others might also be formed if the requisite capital could be borrowed at low interest. Such cooperative enterprises with their group participation and rotating responsibilities seem well suited to Okinawan patterns of social relationships. In agricultural enterprises such as tea plantations cooperatives also have the advantages gained through the use of larger tracts of land. This is in sharp contrast to the extreme fragmentation of holdings that characterizes farming by individuals and which makes the use of machinery by individual farmers virtually impossible. Cooperative work on larger tracts of land with more modern techniques might result in considerable increase in production.

4) That those distinctively Okinawan crafts that have survived be encouraged to produce more and if possible to export. Ryukyuan lacquer, ceramics, and textiles were once famous in the Far East and may yet find markets even in North America.

Population It is obvious that, given present economic conditions, Okinawa is suffering from overpopulation. Emigration, even if possible, would only be a partial and temporary solution to the problem. The only solution is the voluntary lowering of the high birth rate. Education in the techniques of contraception is clearly desirable. If the Ryukyuan people, through their elected representatives desire to legalize abortion, as has been done in Japan, it is recommended that they do so. Probably a lowering of the birth rate, if it ever comes, will come as it has in other countries, as a result of a higher standard of education and a shift of values centered about the family to values centered about the individual. If these changes occur it is likely that they will be accompanied by, or be the result of, economic changes that will make Okinawa's large population less a burden anyway.

Health The Public Health authorities on Okinawa are to be commended for their attack on the most serious problems, particularly malaria and TB. However, concepts and practices relating to sanitation and health still leave much to be desired. We recommend:

1) An increasingly active program of education both inside and outside the schools (with Public Health and Education cooperating) directed toward gradually replacing native concepts of disease with modern medical ones. This program must not be merely an exposition of modern concepts and practices but must be based on a knowledge of the native concepts and practices it seeks to replace.

2) Stricter licensing of medical practitioners and gradual elimination of quacks. Again this must be done on the basis of a thorough knowledge of what native concepts are involved and it must be done in such a way that the undesirable practitioners do not appear to have suddenly lost their livelihood.

3) Encouragement of cooperation in clean-ups and the construction of sanitary facilities at the *ku* and *han* level, by appealing to local pride and by demonstrating that persons of high status may engage in physical labor.

[312] 4). The drilling of wells in areas that have insufficient water, for example in the village of Komesu in Miwa-son, where the only water is obtained from two wells outside the village itself, or on the island of Sesoko, where 3,000 people depend upon rainfall. In these communities sanitation is especially poor and skin disease rife.

Education Educational authorities are to be commended for the school reconstruction program, the extension of the schooling period, and the bringing of rural schools more nearly up to urban standards. In addition to the continuation of the building program we recommend:

1) Increasing the pay of teachers at least until it is comparably higher than that of policemen before the war (without of course downgrading the pay of policemen in the process). After the land question this is probably the problem most deserving immediate consideration. It must be remembered that teachers are a key group in the moulding of public opinion and that any hostility they might feel against the United States as a result of a decline in status since the war might easily be conveyed to their pupils and to other less-educated groups.

2) Encouraging students in the applied sciences, particularly agriculture, through scholarships, prizes, etc.

3) Discouraging the teaching of English below the high school level, as a waste of time, and determining that English be taught in high schools and at the university by competent teachers, of whom there are at present very few. It must be added that an American who has had no special training in the teaching of English to foreigners is probably not much better as a teacher than the Okinawan who knows all about teaching English but cannot speak it. Trained persons are essential.

4) The hiring at the university of competent Japanese scholars, who have considerably more prestige than either Okinawan or American scholars, for the teaching of subjects such as physical and biological sciences.

5) The hiring at the university of one or more of the noted Okinawan scholars now working in Japan.

Political Organization We did not do research on this problem as such but we feel that it warrants consideration as a highly important problem. We recommend that a research worker or team competent in political science and in Far Eastern affairs study the history, structure, and functioning of both GRI and USCAR with the objective of investigating the allegations, which we heard from both Okinawans and Americans, that a) GRI is too removed from the rural villages to be concerned with them or aware of their problems; b) GRI is essentially a puppet of USCAR and therefore not to be respected or relied upon by the Okinawan people; c) USCAR has become an unwieldy bureaucratic structure more interested in self-perpetuation than in furthering U.S. policy. 000

Our own observations lead us to believe that there is some truth in each of these charges. The study of Kitazato revealed that GRI's Central Land Office in Naha, despite its apparent vast quantities of data, did not actually know of the extensive land changes which had taken place several years earlier and of the resultant division of the village into three separate settlements. But to determine where channels of communication had broken down would have required just such a separate politically-oriented study as that which we now recommend.

Going to the upper end of the political chain, we have the distinct impression that a study of USCAR would reveal a strong tendency toward "empire-building" on the part of some men who had no particular qualifications to begin with, but who have been allowed by time and circumstance to rise in the structure to the point where they are driven by their own insecurity to justify their positions by usurping numerous powers and functions that should be left to the Okinawans. This tendency can only result in inefficiency, duplication of function, and the basis for the second charge given above, that GRI is USCAR's puppet. These results are not only financially burdensome but damaging to U. S. prestige.

Besides the general recommendation that the present political organization of Okinawa be studied, we make the following specific recommendations:

1) Reevaluation of the legal code. The present legal code consists of a combination of U. S. Military Government ordinances, USCAR directives, etc., and legislation passed by the GRI legislature. We heard complaints from local officials to the effect that much of the law in operation was prewar Japanese law and that Okinawa had not benefitted from the new and more democratic Japanese constitution. Sometimes the charge becomes specifically, "USCAR is preventing the democratization of Okinawa". The study recommended above should discover whether the fault lies with USCAR or with the GRI legislature and what might be done about it. [177] [671]

2) Selection and rotation of USCAR personnel. Where there are Americans whose duties are to advise other nations in the solution of various political, social, and economic problems and to represent the American people in doing so, these men ought to have both the special knowledge required for the first function and the appreciation of what life is like in the United States for the second. Men who have no particular knowledge of the area or of the specific problems that need solving and who have not lived in the United States for any length of time since before World War II are hardly competent to perform these functions. It is highly desirable that USCAR personnel be selected

with care and be rotated in the same manner that State Department and military personnel are rotated. In particular, it is highly desirable that USCAR personnel include more persons with a knowledge of the Japanese language. It was our impression that the only Americans in USCAR able to communicate with Okinawans on other than the most primitive level were those of Japanese ancestry.

Okinawan-American Relations We recommend:

1) That consideration be given to the effect (on Okinawan attitudes toward the U.S.) of the more luxurious aspects of American life on Okinawa, with a view to a) eliminating those that do more harm to Okinawan-American relations than good to American morale (Ishikawa beach, a portion of one of the most crowded, impoverished, and unsanitary cities on the island, fenced off for American recreation, may be a case in point. The contrast between life on the two sides of the barbed wire must escape only the dullest Okinawans and Americans and must surely create ill-will among the Okinawans) and b) explaining in unmistakable language that the cost of American housing, etc. is being paid for out of American taxes, not Okinawan taxes as many now appear to believe.

2) That such organs printed by USCAR as the Sekai Gaho be distributed at the ku rather than at the son level in order that they reach the wider audience for whom they are intended.

3) That USCAR consider pro-Japanese feeling as largely springing from cultural and racial bonds with Japan and abandon its attempts to identify reversionism with communism; these attempts, particularly since they have been made by politically naive persons, can only result in the strengthening of communism.

In response to the request for recommendations toward more general considerations of military government policy, we can only say that we regard the knowledge of the culture of another society as indispensable in dealing with the members of that society, and that each culture must be studied separately. In another society the content of culture, attitudes toward authority, toward change, and toward Americans might differ so as to make generalizations from the specific problems of Okinawa impossible.

But, also, we suggest that there are tendencies inherent in the present military government structure that are harmful to American interests. These tendencies might appear as easily in another scene. For this reason we point again to our recommendation given above under the heading "political organization".

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the *Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950*. All other figures are based on data in *Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku*.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Naha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under
243 cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%——these percentages are reported on page 76 of *Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands*. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Guntō	15.7	16.7	424.6	12.40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.1	9.58	20	-7.0
Ōgimi	10.3	25.8	139.3	7.72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	3.5
Iheya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Izena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Goeku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43	6	2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60		3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Shuri	23.9	.2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1.6
Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9	} - 5	16.3
Ōzato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60		
Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
Tokashiki	----	22.0	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	} -54	15.4
Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

GLOSSARY

104 As in the text native Okinawan words are underlined and Japanese words are enclosed in single quote marks.

aji	(sometimes Japanized 'anzu') a feudal lord under the former monarchy.
'awamori'	a strong distilled liquor.
'aza'	a subdivision of the 'son' or "township", the territorial equivalent of the 'ku'.
'bunke'	"branch house"; a house established by a second or younger son upon leaving his father's house; the eldest son stays in the father's house which then becomes 'honke', "main house", to the branch house.
'buraku'	"village" in the sense of a settlement.
'butai'	"military unit", at present used for any U.S. installation, as, 'kazoku butai', literally "family unit", for a dependent housing project.
chinju	(Japanese cognate 'kinjo', "neighborhood") a native subdivision of a village, used in some areas.
'chō'	an incorporated town, co-ordinate with 'shi', "city", and 'son', "rural township".
chuchooree	(Jap. cog. 'hito-kyōdai', "one siblinghood") in some areas, a lineage which forms a local subdivision of the larger kinship group.
'ekisha'	(in Okinawan sanjinsoo) a type of diviner who casts horoscopes and predicts the future using a system based on the Chinese classic, the I Ching.
fii-nu-kang	('hi-no-kami') the fire god, represented by an incense burner behind the oven in most Okinawan homes.
'gen'ya'	grassland; a class of land that is uncultivated but not forest.
'gun-sagyo-	military employment.

'han'	a subdivision of a 'ku', which may be either a rural village or an urban ward.
'hanchō'	the headman of a 'han' (Note: during World War II the term 'han' was applied to work details and their leaders were called 'hanchō'; the term with this meaning was introduced into [illegible] and has come to mean any kind of important person regardless of rank.)
haru	(Japanese cognate, 'hara', "field") an area of cultivated land; often the second element in the names of 'ko-aza'.
'hatake'	a dry or upland field, as distinguished from 'ta' or 'tambo', a wet field.
'hōgen'	"dialect', the term formerly used in the schools for the Okinawan language; Japanese was called 'hyōjungo', "standard speech", and thus Okinawan was made subordinate to Japanese. In contrast the native terms are Uchinaa-guchi, "Okinawa speech", and Yamatuguchi, "Yamato speech", making the two co-ordinate.
'honke'	"main house"; see 'bunke'.
hyakusoo	(Japanese cognate 'hyakushō', "farmers", equated with Japanese 'heimin', "commoners") the peasantry under the former monarchy.
ichimung	in some areas, the larger common descent group, more commonly munchu.
'imo'	the generic term for root crops, usually used to mean sweet potatoes.
jituree	an official appointed to the administration of a district under the former monarchy.
'jivari seido'	under the former monarchy, the land allotment system, whereby the greater part of the cultivatable land was owned by the state and periodically reapportioned among the peasantry.
juri (-gwaa)	a trained female who functions as hostess, singer, dancer, and prostitute, there being no distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō' as in Japan.
jurinuyaa	a juri house.

104 *kaminchu*	('kami-no-hito', "deity person") a religious functionary who leads worship for a *munchu* or other larger kinship group or assists the *nuru* in worship for the village.
'ken'	prefecture.
'kin'	a unit of weight, equivalent to 1.32 pounds
'ko-aza'	a unit of land, a subdivision of the 'aza'.
'koseki'	the family register kept at the 'son' office and by the 'kuchō'.
'ku'	a subdivision of a 'son', 'chō', or 'shi'; as a subdivision of a 'son' the 'ku' is a rural village, the political unit equivalent to the land unit of 'aza'; as a subdivision of a 'cho' or 'shi' it is a ward of a town or city.
'kuchō'	the headman of a 'ku'.
'kumi'	literally "group"; in some villages a subdivision of the 'han', in others the equivalent of the 'han'; the term may also be used for a temporary unit formed for the purpose of pressing sugar, etc.
'kumiai'	an association or union.
mabui, *mabuyaa*	a supernatural entity that goes into the making of a human being; a kind of soul, which if lost causes its owner to become ill. The *mabui* of a living person may be called *ichi-mabui*, that of a dead person *shini-mabui*; the latter is a type of ghost.
majiri	(sometimes Japanized 'magiri') the administrative unit under the former monarchy corresponding to the present 'son'.
manna	(Japanese 'majinai') a "spell", that is, a verbal formula which if recited perfectly will magically cause the desired effect; these are used in curing. A person who can use spells is called a *mannasaa*.
'miso'	a food stuff made of bean paste.
'moai'	(also *muyee*, *yuuree-gwaa*, 'mujin') a mutual loan association.

'mogusa'	a plant, dried particles of which are burned on the skin as a treatment for various diseases and disorders. The Japanese name has been Latinized as "moxa" and the treatment is called "moxibustion" or "moxicautery".
moo-ashibii	literally "playing in the fields", a type of nocturnal picknicking practiced by young persons in some rural communities.
munchu	a kin group composed of a number of households the heads of which trace their descent from a common ancestor in the male line, thus a patrilineal sib; it is non-exogamous and has only ritual functions. This term is used by descendants of the former peasant class in Southern and Central Okinawa; elsewhere the term ichimung is used; among descendants of the former gentry the corresponding unit is called the uji.
mura	(In Japanese also 'mura') "village" in the sense of settlement, and thus the equivalent of 'buraku', but also an alternate reading of the character usually read 'son', meaning a rural township.
'museki'	a person or family that nowhere appears on a 'koseki'; such persons may be thought of as legally nonexistent.
nuru, nuuru	(often Japanized 'noro') a village priestess, one of the hierarchy organized by the former monarchy.
'ryōtei'	a restaurant-brothel.
'sake'	a fermented rice wine, the usual Japanese drink; the Okinawan cognate term saki is used for the much stronger distilled drink called 'awamori' in Japanese.
'samisen', 'shamisen'	a three-stringed musical instrument.
sanjinsoo	a diviner, same as 'ekisha', which see.
'seinenkai', 'seinendan'	the Youth Organization.
'sen'	a former coin; 100 sen equalled 1 yen.
'shi'	an incorporated city.

104 'shi-chō-son'	the three co-ordinate administrative units of city, town, and rural township.
shii	a supernatural force within the human being, the decline of which causes illness.
'shiseiji'	"illegitimate child", one not recognized by the father and therefore registered with the mother, as distinguished from the next term.
'shoshi (-dan, -jo)'	"common-law (son, daughter)", a child born out of wedlock but recognized by the father and registered on his 'koseki'.
'son'	a rural township (since the character may also be read 'mura', which in coloquial usage means "village", it is probably preferable not to translate the term at all).
'sonchō'	the mayor of a 'son'.
'son-yakuba'	the administrative office of a 'son'.
'ta', 'tambo'	a seasonally flooded field used for rice, rush, taro, etc., as distinct from 'hatake', a dry or upland field.
'tan'	a unit of land, equivalent to .245 acre.
'tatami'	a Japanese style floor mat.
'tōfu'	bean curd, made from soy beans.
'tsubo'	a unit of area; 1 'tsubo' equals 3.95 square yards; 1224 'tsubo' equal 1 acre.
ugwambusuku	insufficiency of worship, of the ancestors or of the fire god, thought to be a frequent cause of misfortune and illness.
ugwanju, uganju	a place of worship, a shrine, often marked only by a tiny stone.
uji	the larger kin group among the gentry class, see munchu.
yaarui, yaadui	(Japanized 'yadori') a small settlement removed from a village; most were pioneered by unemployed members of the gentry class and urban commoners in the last century.

yabuu	a type of medical practitioner who uses moxibustion, acupuncture, and other techniques derived from Chinese medicine.
'yagō'	(in Okinawan *yaanaa*) "house name"; in most villages all houses are distinguished by a system of house names.
'yen'	at present (1954) 120 type B yen equal 1 US dollar.
'yōshi'	a son adopted in order to provide a man with an heir.
yuta	a type of shaman, usually a woman, who functions as diviner and medium.

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[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

3: Pitts et al.

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[For information on inter-community differences, see Category 621.]